15

APRIL 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

A nazi catcher

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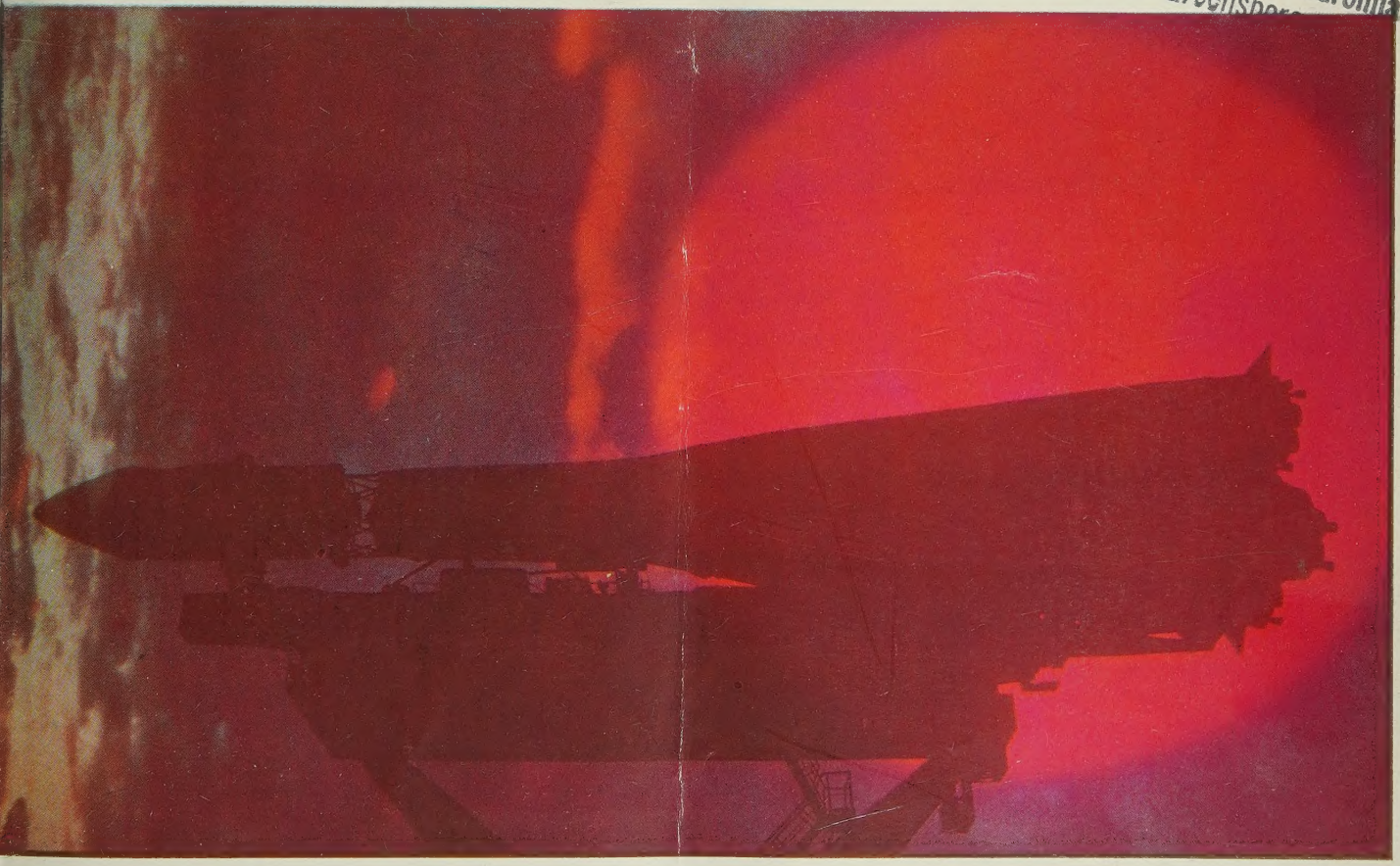

The Middle East. THE CAMP DAVID TEMPTATION

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THE SESSION OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES' FOREIGN MINISTERS HELD IN SOFIA NAMES THE TOP PRIORITY OBJECTIVES THE ATTAINING OF WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE SITUATION IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD. THIS LIST OF PRIORITIES CAN BE REGARDED AS AN ANSWER TO THE DOCUMENTS OF NATO'S BRUSSELS SUMMIT, VADIM LOGINOV, DEPUTY SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER, TOLD A NEW TIMES CORRESPONDENT.
See pp. 5-6

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CONTENTS:

2
Glasnost
FROM OUR MAILBAG

4
Highlight of the week

5
Disarmament problems
Vadim Loginov.
OUR TOP PRIORITIES

7
Exclusive for New Times
Evgeny Andrianov,
Konstantin Isakov.
KEYS TO CONFIDENCE AND SECURITY

9
Observer's view
Alexei Bukalov.
DREAMERS AND DRUMMERS

10
Afghanistan
Alexander Goryanov.
PEACE AND TRADE GO TOGETHER
12
Timur Gaidar.
WHOSE FLAGS FLUTTER IN THE PERSIAN GULF!
16
Oleg Gazenko.
THE HUMAN EQUATION OF SPACE MARATHONS
18
U.S.S.R.: perestroika and democracy
Olzhas Suleimenov.
PATRIOTISM IS NOT NATIONAL EXCLUSIVENESS

20
Polemics
Anatoly Butenko.
WHAT KIND OF SOCIALISM ARE THEY MOURNING!

23
Hungary
Vladimir Gerasimov.
PRIVATE INVESTMENTS IN INDUSTRY

Taurus®

25
The past and the present
Yuri Sedov.
THE CAMP DAVID TEMPTATION

28
Bygones are not bygones
Serge Klarsfeld.
NAZI CRIMINALS MUST BE PUNISHED

31
International law
Sergei Orjonikidze,
Alexander Zmeyevsky.
HANDCUFFS FOR HIGH-SEAS TERRORISTS
32
Music
Boris Alexeyev.
AFRICAN GODDESS

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OPINIONS

ALEXIS RANDRIANASOLO
Antananarivo, Madagascar

People all over the world are turning to Washington and Moscow to gratify their hopes of a successful conclusion to the disarmament talks. It is now evident for me that the latest meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan was a milestone in the joint effort to achieve a stable peace. What is important, however, is not that the meeting at last took place, but what results, if any, it will bring. I ardently hope that the treaty signed at the meeting will be ratified by both countries, and implemented. But who can guarantee that things will turn out precisely so? I should like to see more agreements of this kind, and want all other countries to join in the disarmament process. Regrettably, no one can say for sure that a period of thaw will not be followed by a new stage in weapon sophistication, and that many governments would not prefer to continue to build nuclear stockpiles in their own and other countries, repeating the favourite phrase: "It is essential for national defence."

SVEN GUSTAVSON
Göteborg, Sweden

I read carefully New Times articles on the Vienna review meeting of the Helsinki conference. You say that the talks have become more dynamic recently. But you are concerned about the bans that still prevent the import of some goods into your country. There is no trust on question of scientific and technological cooperation. The reason is that these goods or scientific discoveries could be used for military purposes. This is logical, in my opinion, and I personally would be disappointed in my government if it began to sell you goods that could in your hands endanger my own national and personal security. So, it would be reasonable first to achieve "guaranteed" disarmament or reliable control over armaments and military research, and only then to talk about other issues in the "second basket" of the Helsinki conference.

STEVEN SMOKE
New York, U.S.A.

I have long wanted to share my thoughts about the interview with Academician Evgeny Velikhov published in issue No. 44/87. Now, after the signing of the INF treaty in Washington, I feel I simply must do so, because the interview greatly interested and, may I say it, shook me. I agree that before the December meeting in Washington the term "universal laboratory," though such a laboratory does exist, might have seemed fantastic or utopian to some people. It is rather difficult to imagine the scientists of the world sharing their discoveries with each other. Some people expressed fears that an "exchange" of this kind could strengthen the military power of one state or another. I have also thought about this for a long time. With the present level of scientific progress, even a washing machine can be adapted for military purposes. I exaggerate, of course, but, in principle, it is so. The expansion of scientific ties should be considered from a different point of view, from the standpoint of 20th-century homo sapiens, and not from that of a backwoods man. The real progress that could be achieved through mutual scientific enrichment should be soberly assessed.

Why did I decide to write this letter only after the INF treaty had been signed? If we are talking about the development of the disarmament process and the possibility of trusting each other, then it is high time that scientists left their separate laboratories and began to work together. ■

GLASNOST
FROM OUR MAILBAG

AN INQUIRING LETTER

NIKOLAI YERMOLAYEV
economist, chairman of
the ARS cooperative
Moscow

Opening practically any newspaper today, you are likely to find an article on cooperatives. There is nothing surprising about this. The new movement continues to attract the attention of both advocates and opponents, the cooperators themselves and, of course, potential consumers. Numerous articles are trying to provide a theoretical basis for the existence of this public institution, still familiar to us. True, they usually pass over in silence such delicate questions as the price of a meat pancake, raisin pie or glass of fruit juice. Consumers can only guess the price of a three-course meal in a cooperative café.

I have not yet come across information about a cooperative where one can have a snack, celebrate a wedding or birthday, have a suit made or a typewriter quickly repaired.

Perhaps one cannot expect newspapers and magazines to publish information of this kind, as they have different tasks. The publication of such information should most logically be undertaken by the cooperatives. The almost complete lack of information on market supply eliminates competition between cooperatives, thereby reducing the quality of goods and increasing prices.

How can one make a choice if there is no information about cooperative supply? Such a situation is not favourable either to consumers or to honest cooperators. It is advantageous to pot-boilers and money-grubbers. It is therefore necessary to organize extensive and up-to-date advertising of cooperative goods and services. This could be done by an advertising and information bulletin.

I want to say here that the arguments mentioned above form the basis of the charter of our cooperative ARS, which we have been vainly trying to register with the Moscow City Soviet for over a year. Our proposal has been backed by the city committee of the Communist Party. However, the relevant commission of the Moscow City Soviet, which must be interested in removing the obstacles in the way of the cooperative movement in the capital, is putting a spoke in our wheel.

This is why I've decided to write this letter to New Times. I hope members of the commission for cooperative and individual labour activity will read it and ask themselves why they are obstructing our work.

GLASNOST

FROM OUR MAILBAG

SILVIO SARZI-SARTORI,
San Remo, Italy
vs

GERHARD ROTH,
Berlin, G.D.R.

I welcome perestroika. But, in my opinion, you should concern yourself primarily with the economy, and philosophical and political thoughts as they are at present. I don't understand why you should delve into history. It seems to me that the part of your changes that deal with history have caused unnecessary pain and confusion to those who have believed passionately in your country for decades.

I shall explain what I have in mind. After all, to err is human. If crimes were committed in the early years of Soviet power, we should not forget, speaking of them now, what sort of period it was. Every revolution has had its victims, some of them innocent ones. Let us remember the French revolution of 1789. Thousands of people were guillotined.

When the people are hungry, they do not think much about philanthropic and other ideas. The October revolution was opposed from outset by Western capitalist states. At the same time, disputes flared up between individual members of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. In such a complex situation the people who came to power could not think of whether their descendants would condemn them for their innocent victims. The revolution could not wait till the soundness of the views of various individuals had been ascertained.

I don't think it is now necessary to condemn or rehabilitate individuals, because this looks like exhumation, not a pressing need of the time. As for the collectivization of peasants under coercion, with all its bitter consequences, and then forced building of heavy industry, I think that if this had not been done, the Red Army would not have been able to rout German fascism, and Europe would still be under nazi rule. Perhaps the repressions of the 1930s were historically justified from this point of view.

San Remo

I have learned that on the initiative of the special commission of the Political Bureau, the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. has rehabilitated many people sentenced to death or imprisonment at the 1938 trial in Moscow. In my opinion, the posthumous rehabilitation of such prominent figures as Bukharin signifies more than the triumph of justice. It has opened the way to the political rehabilitation of those veteran Bolsheviks, associates of Lenin and the recognition of their ideas, and given an impulse to a critical review of the political trials and the inhuman "great purge" of 1937-38.

It is hard to describe the consequences of these trials for the Communist Party, the Soviet people and the Communist parties affiliated to the Communist International. I believe that the guilt for the crimes and gross political violence of the legal bodies of the time cannot be expiated by the accomplices and henchmen of Stalin, even half a century later.

I am profoundly convinced that by establishing the guilt of those responsible for the crimes, studying the circumstances and reasons that impelled them to commit the crimes, and uncovering the methods used to arrange the 1937-38 trials, will be an essential and powerful guarantee that similar acts, detrimental to the cause of Lenin, will not be repeated in the future. Never and nowhere.

Berlin

Drawing by Alexander Jikia

FROM THE EDITORS: Our two foreign readers, perhaps unwittingly, have hit the nail on the head. For the controversy at home and abroad is focussed precisely on the question of whether the Soviet people should or should not rake up the past. Something more important lies behind the answer to this question - the attitude to the very processes of perestroika, which cannot be effective without understanding the experience of the past, with all its achievements and fatal mistakes.

Publishing these two opposing views from foreign readers, we invite all readers at home and abroad to continue the discussion of this painful theme. The comparison of views expressed by Soviet and foreign readers will help all of us to come nearer to the truth.

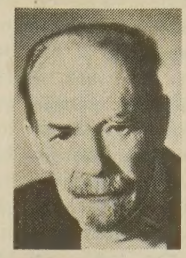
WE EAGERLY AWAIT YOUR LETTERS!

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

PRIVATE OPINION

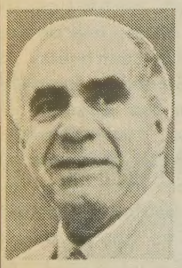
MATTI AHDE, president of the Finnish parliament

The conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union forty years ago signified a decisive turn in relations between our countries. This event can also be considered historic from the standpoint of the all-European process. The results of the cooperation stipulated by the treaty are excellent. The treaty was extended three times before the appointed date (the last time was in 1983), and without any amendments. This fact alone shows that forty years ago we elaborated a document which has lost none of its relevance today. Speaking of the future of the Finnish-Soviet dialogue, I believe the greatest attention will be paid to economic cooperation. President Koivisto and General Secretary Gorbachev have both declared for the peaceful development of Northern Europe. I therefore believe that ensuring security will also be one of the principal issues in the near future.



SERGEI BARUZDIN, Editor-in-Chief of the journal Druzhba Narodov

For me as a novelist and journalist, subscribing as I do to Pushkin's advice to writers to tune their lyre to loving-kindness, the most important events of the last week, albeit far from happy ones, were those in and around Nagorny Karabakh. I have more than once had occasion to go to that autonomous region and have many friends and colleagues in both Azerbaijan and Armenia. I have never experienced any sense of hostility there, whether towards myself, towards their neighbours in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, or any other people of our country. The more painful the disturbances there, the greater the discord they evoke in me. When I think of the events in Nagorny Karabakh, I cannot prevent myself feeling that in discussing them, our press has not found the right tone and is still failing to do so. It should be one of tact, consideration and delicacy, for it is just the qualities that are required in analyzing relations between nationalities. I feel too that the media sins by a want of kindness. I am all for kindness. I am convinced that kindness alone should be the weightiest argument for a peaceful and constructive solution to the problems of Nagorny Karabakh.



MOURAD GHALEB, acting president of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization

I have just returned from Kabul, where we successfully held an international conference to discuss the role of public opinion in the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. We arrived in Kabul at the right moment: the Afghan government was taking one step after another towards achieving national reconciliation in the country. The new Constitution has proclaimed Afghanistan a democratic state with a multiparty system and a mixed economy, fully respecting Islam.

The government has repeatedly urged opposition leaders abroad and commanders of armed groups inside the country to stop the bloodshed and join in a coalition government. It did so once again during our stay in Afghanistan. The opposition has been offered many posts of responsibility in a new cabinet. Therefore, we witnessed very important measures, undertaken in line with the national reconciliation policy.

As for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, I think the matter is settled. The practical implementation of the decision depends directly on the successful conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. It is very strange, however, that those who demanded an early pullout of Soviet troops are now raising artificial obstacles to the conclusion of agreements in Geneva.

VITALY SEVASTYANOV, pilot-cosmonaut and twice Hero of the Soviet Union

The memorandum on the creation of an international system of control, and for the inadmissibility of deploying weapons of any kind in outer space, put forward by the Soviet delegation to the Disarmament Conference, has two important aspects. Firstly, it is a development of one of the most important programme points of Mikhail Gorbachev's article "Reality and the guarantees for a secure world," which outlines his plan to build a future for mankind without wars and violence. Secondly, it is a flexible and purposeful initiative, embodying the new philosophy in world politics. The proposal that has been put forward stands alongside such significant initiatives as the creation of the international space agency for the exploration of natural resources and control of the natural environment of the planet within the framework of the United Nations, or the organization of the international centre for the training of cosmonauts. The current Soviet initiative significantly increases the possibilities for control, and guarantees its effectiveness. The proposed international space inspectorate could undoubtedly become an effective organ for ensuring the safety of an immense area of human activity - to wit, space, if free from any kind of weapons - and exclusively on the basis of international collaboration.

Our top priorities

The Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states met for a routine session in Sofia on March 29-30. After the Soviet delegation's return home VADIM LOGINOV, U.S.S.R. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave an interview to New Times.

N.T. What, in your opinion, are the chief results of the meeting? Has it brought anything new?

V. Loginov. Briefly, the Sofia meeting has reaffirmed the Warsaw Treaty member states' readiness to make every effort to help solve the vital problems of today - put an end to the arms race, prevent it from spreading to outer space, and make the current disarmament process and positive trends in the development of the international situation irreversible.

A number of important points merit special mention in this connection. First, the foreign ministers discussed a cluster of questions related to a continued and intensified Soviet-U.S. dialogue aimed at ending the arms race and going over to nuclear and chemical disarmament, to the reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe.

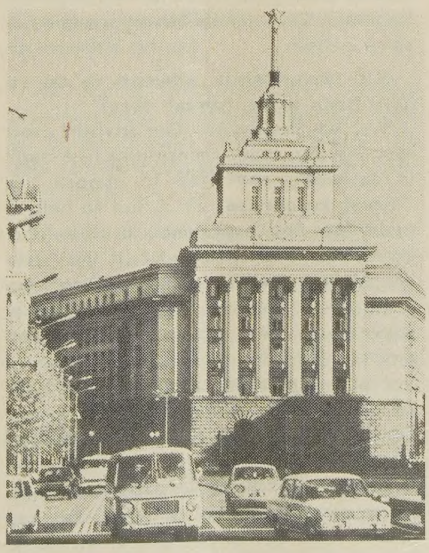
As the meeting was held shortly after the latest round of Eduard Shevardnadze's talks in Washington, the Soviet Foreign Minister informed his colleagues in detail of the content of the talks and the agreements reached, including the plan for the preparations for the U.S. President's visit to our country. The allied states' foreign ministers voiced their profound satisfaction at the results of the Soviet side's work. All the Soviet initiatives aimed at making the forthcoming summit a success met with support.

Second, and this was an entirely new development, the session adopted an address to the NATO member states and to all the participating states of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

N.T. A new development, you said. Could you explain where its novelty lay?

V.L. First of all, in the very fact of such a document being adopted. We called on our partners in negotiations to concentrate on specific priorities topping the long list of international problems, especially European ones, demanding an early solution.

I shall not quote this document, as it has been published. It's worth stressing, however, that among these priorities we include implementing the INF treaty; signing, in the first half of 1988, a U.S.S.R.-U.S. treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms, with the ABM treaty observed; speeding up progress towards a complete and universal nuclear test ban; whipping into shape, before this year is out, the convention on banning chemical weapons and eliminating stockpiles thereof; completing, at an early date, the coordination of the agenda for the talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.



N.T. In short, these are top priorities not just for the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO but for Europe and mankind as a whole!

V.L. They are. What's more, this address of ours, this list of priorities can be regarded as an answer to the NATO summit's Brussels resolutions. This answer was a must because the Brussels summit came up not only with positive suggestions (which we by no means ignore!), such as an invitation to take part in negotiations on some aspects of disarmament (and not disarmament alone, for that matter), but with other concepts as well. For instance, there was talk of what is termed "compensation" - the modernization or replacement of weapons scrapped in the process of disarmament by new kinds. We reject such an approach outright. The address also contains concrete proposals, such as to exchange data on arms and armed forces, bring out and remove any asymmetries and imbalances; this is bound to silence the idle talk about the Warsaw Treaty countries' alleged military superiority in Europe.

N.T. This assertion is quite current in the West. What is the actual state of affairs?

V.L. Indeed, in Central Europe, the Warsaw Treaty countries have a certain superiority in tanks and artillery. But then, besides Central Europe, there are the European flanks, northern and southern. The entire continent, from the Atlantic to the Urals, and all the adjacent seas and oceans, including the Baltic and the Mediterranean, should be regarded as an integral whole. Viewed from this angle, the picture is different. You will see, for instance, that on the southern flank, NATO is stronger many times over, and not just by so many per cent.

The situation in the centre of Europe is also not as simple as all that. Our partners in negotiations are trying to restrict the discussion to the Soviet superiority in tanks and artillery. But what about tactical aviation, combat helicopters, anti-tank weapons? What about the naval forces, deployed on the flanks, and their carrier-borne aircraft which, incidentally, can easily span the entire European theatre of operations?

VADIM LOGINOV, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

Everything must be taken into account!

This is what the Warsaw Treaty Organization member states insist upon in their address. When the other side suggests that we exchange data on the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, our countersuggestion is that we include those deployed all over Europe, North, Centre and South alike. This would make the picture complete.

N.T. This is only logical.

V.L. It certainly is. However, when Eduard Shevardnadze suggested this in Washington, our partners in negotiations had no ready answer.

In addressing the NATO countries and all the participants in the all-European process, we do not expect a prompt answer, either. We realize that it takes time to weigh all the pros and cons and give the matter thorough consideration. Let them study our proposal. After all is said and done, however, we expect a positive response. The nature of this response will show whether the proposal to exchange data was serious or intended as a propaganda ploy.

For our part, we are prepared to provide the necessary data. We regard the matter of data exchange as urgent, and suggest reaching an agreement on its principles in April and trading statistics in May so as to clear the air. All subsequent negotiations can then be conducted, and whatever asymmetries and imbalances exist can be put right, on the basis of concrete information.

This is a new approach to the issue of armed forces and arms reduction in Europe. The approach to deal with naval weapons we have suggested is also new. This is a very important matter. The buildup of naval forces and their presence in various parts of the world is of great danger to the cause of peace.

The participants in the session exchanged views on a wide range of subjects: the coming third special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, the situation in the Middle East, the escalation of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict, the Afghan-Pakistani talks, the Cyprus problem. The questions of cooperation between the allied countries in the field of foreign policy also came in for discussion. All this is set forth in detail in the session's communiqué. I should stress that the consensus was that existing hotbeds of tension and armed conflicts must be dealt with as soon as possible by **political methods.** The Warsaw Treaty states are prepared to do everything to facilitate this.

N.T. The West often claims that all suggestions coming from the Warsaw Treaty Organization are actually Soviet ones, and that the other participants in the alliance merely support and approve them. Does this really apply to the suggestions found in the address?

V.L. All of these suggestions are joint efforts and stem from our common positions. A look through the communiqué will show what specific initiatives individual Warsaw Treaty states have come up with. This is only natural. Within the framework of the coordinated movement for a nuclear-free and non-violent world, every country makes its contribution and advances its initiatives.

I mean, in particular, the G.D.R.'s and Czechoslovakia's proposals that a non-nuclear corridor and a chemical weapon-free zone be set up in Central Europe; the Balkan initatives put forward by Bulgaria and Romania; the Polish plan for arms reduction and confidence building; the Czechoslovak package on establishing a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations along the line of contact between the two alliances; and, finally, a very interesting initiative by Hungarian Communists who suggested, jointly with Finnish and Italian Social Democrats and Socialists, that non-nuclear countries should increase their contribution to all European disarmament processes, nuclear included.

N.T. I see that the socialist world's foreign policy is fairly varied.

V.L. Uniformity is alien to life, and socialism is a living and developing organism.

Another important point is that we are the first to blaze the trail to the socialist ideal, and we often do so by trial and error. Various approaches, viewpoints and methods eventually crystallize into the most rational line, and this applies to foreign policy as well.

Finally, there are national specifics and a whole complex of concrete realities to be reckoned with when a nation embarks on the socialist course. There can be no common recipes for building a new society to be followed by both a newly independent nation and by a nation with a long history of capitalist development behind it. One cannot fit everyone into the same pattern.

N.T. Nevertheless, attempts to do so have been made, haven't they?

V.L. Admittedly, yes. Our advisers used to arrive in a country making its first steps in socialism, and tried to impose the "Soviet experience" on it, not to help it assimilate this experience in the local context, but to impose it. In the early stages, this practice could, perhaps, be justified by the fact that no alternative experience of socialist construction existed. But after the fraternal countries had gained experience of their own, built up state and public institutions and created homegrown cadres, the situation changed.

Today the exchange of experience with other countries is no longer a one-way street. Vigorous exchanges of opinions, suggestions and practical experience are under way within the frameworks of both the Warsaw Treaty Organization and CMEA and on a bilateral basis - between parties, state institutions, public organizations and now between work collectives.

This exchange is very useful to everyone, ourselves included. After all, many new developments in our country, such as the nomination of several candidates for elections and the encouragement of small-scale private enterprise, are time-tested practice in the fraternal countries.

The interconnection of the economies and the trend towards integration, without which any further economic progress is unthinkable, are steadily gaining in importance. This is a matter of common interest. Obviously, we have started changing over from merely trading with each other to production, scientific, technical and technological cooperation.

The obstacles that stood in the way of setting up joint enterprises and the development of direct production links are being removed. Here is just one example: a project for a cheap popular Soviet-Bulgarian-Hungarian car is now under discussion... Eventually, we are bound to have convertible currency and establish a common market for some socialist countries.

N.T. We have departed somewhat from the Sofia meeting.

V.L. Certainly, all this is not directly connected with the Sofia session, but it may give an idea of the creative atmosphere in which we draw up and adopt our joint documents together.

Speaking of pooling experience, I regret to say that we sometimes lack persistence. Fairly frequently matters get bogged down in the mire of red tape.

Three decades ago the writer Vladimir Dudintsev aptly described our bureaucratic practices in his novel, "Not by Bread Alone." He saw the flaws in our bureaucratic system, its awkwardness and conservatism. Today we must break down this delaying mechanism. Analyzing and synthesizing all the socialist countries' experience will come in useful here.

N.T. And now the last question. Having started out on your own as a carpenter, you have been an engineer, a Komsomol and Party worker, and gone all the way to becoming a career diplomat. What is it that brings you greatest fulfilment?

V.L. I feel satisfaction when I see that my work is useful, that a seed I have sown, or rather helped to sow, has sprouted.

N.T. How do you feel about the outcome of the Sofia meeting?

V.L. I feel satisfied.

Interviewer:
ALEXANDER DIDUSENKO

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

Keys to confidence and security

Experts on the problems and prospects of disarmament

An international conference on "Disarmament Research: Agenda for the 1990s" sponsored by the U.N. Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) has been held in Sochi. The Institute was set up eight years ago by the U.N. General Assembly, which stated in its resolution that the Institute's task was to provide the international community with accurate and varied data on the arms race, disarmament and its sociological evaluation, conduct long-term studies and make projections. The results of the conference, held jointly with the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, were reviewed in New Times (No. 14, 1988) by UNIDIR Director Jayantha Dhanapala. Today we publish interviews with the participants in the forum.

Professor Kurt Campbell of Harvard University, U.S.A.

There are two months to go before the Moscow summit. What do you expect from it?

One hears some people in the United States say that it's too early to tackle the complex issue of a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons while the INF treaty is still at the ratification stage. But I think that in Moscow General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan will be able to lay down guidelines for a future START treaty, which we can finalize early next year, to be signed at the next summit meeting. The terms of verification for this treaty will be far more complex than those for intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. I doubt if it will be possible for all the details to be thrashed out in the remaining two months.

The conference you attended was devoted to prospects for disarmament for the next decade. This is a vital question for Soviet-American relations, all the more so as next year will see a new President in the White House.

As I see it, our countries are entering a new phase in bilateral relations, more mature a phase than the détente of the seventies. We have learned to do business with each other better and know how to handle bilateral relations. So whoever succeeds President Reagan will have a base to build on in creating more constructive relations between our countries, which will include not only cooperation but a high level of mutual understanding. This will facilitate a more successful dialogue on a wide range of issues.

William Potter, Executive Director of the Centre for International and Strategic Affairs, University of California at Los Angeles.

What questions, in your opinion, will preoccupy foreign policy experts in the foreseeable future?

As regards Soviet-American relations, economics and trade will inevitably crop up in the process of disarmament. The arms control process provides a good basis for this.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that politicians in both our countries have been preoccupied with the problem of on-the-spot verification. I think that in future we shall concentrate on developing national verification facilities such as observation satellites, seismological gear, etc. We will soon have to address ourselves to the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. To my mind this is an area where the interests of our two countries are bound to coincide. And this will bring us up against the problem of nuclear disarmament on a global scale and make us go beyond the framework of relations between our two countries or the two blocs.

There is another problem I would like to draw your attention to. We should learn to derive greater benefits from the process of eliminating nuclear missiles. I would suggest that we do not destroy ballistic and medium-range missiles, but use them for peaceful purposes. Firstly we can offer them to developing countries to launch satellites under their national space research programmes, and, secondly, these carriers can be used in international space programmes. In this way the developing countries will derive real material benefit from progress in the field of East-West disarmament.

Incidentally, some representatives of the developing countries at the Sochi conference said that East-West arms control and disarmament does not affect them in any practical way. The use of dismantled missiles in national space programmes in developing countries will give added proof to the whole world that everyone stands to gain from the disarmament process.

Michael Brown, Senior Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London.

What are the priorities in the disarmament field for West Europeans?

I think the question uppermost in the minds of West Europeans is conventional weapons, that is, the possibility of achieving and maintaining parity in this field. I believe that the prevailing opinion among the U.S.A.'s NATO partners is that following the INF Treaty shortly to be ratified by Soviet and American legislators, and the agreement, in principle, on

Reprinted from Elan (F.R.G.)

strategic offensive weapons at the Moscow summit, the problem of conventional arms in Europe will move to the top of the agenda.

The existing balance in Europe is made up of imbalances in various components. I think negotiations on conventional arms will be very complicated, more complicated than on intermediate range and strategic offensive arms. Even so, I believe that in the next 4-6 months we should be in a good position to consider how to conduct these negotiations.

We should work out a conceptual approach to this problem and hand it over to the diplomats. The Warsaw Treaty countries and NATO must understand that they will have to make some assymetrical cuts in their conventional weapons if they are to put an end to the existing imbalance and instability. It is a difficult task but I think we can achieve progress on this complex problem within the next two years.

What, in your view, are the chances of Great Britain and France joining in the Soviet-American dialogue?

Several problems will have to be resolved before that becomes possible. The first is intermediate-range missiles in Europe. It is nearing a solution. The second problem is a substantial cut in strategic offensive arms by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Here too real progress is on the cards. But the key factor for brining Britain and France into the process of eliminating nuclear weapons will be the reduction of conventional arms in Europe.

Jean Klein, Director of Research at the French Institute of International Relations.

How convincing are the French arguments in opposing a "third zero"?

The French position with regard to "the third zero" is not all that different from the position of other NATO countries, although it has some nuances. The recent NATO Council session in Brussels, was unanimous on the need for a lower level of nuclear arms binding on all countries. But it did not specify the elimination of nuclear weapons as the ultimate goal.

The governments of France and other members of the North Atlantic Alliance proceeded from the assumption that for several decades security in Europe has rested on deterrence ensured by nuclear and conventional means. This situation must persist for as long as the opposing military political blocs exist.

The French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac recently spoke in favour of creating a "safety reserve" of chemical weapons. How logical is that statement in view of the proposed convention to ban chemical weapons?

That statement did not come as a surprise. The French parliament has already been considering the question of whether we should or should not have chemical weapons in our arsenals for a year. Opinions are divided.

Those who argue in favour of these weapons say that for as long as there are countries possessing chemical weapons in Europe it would be unreasonable for France to exclude them from its arsenal. Some experts in the field, on the contrary, believe that the preservation of chemical weapons is at odds with the underlying logic of deterrence.

The problem, then, lies in the linkage between the proposal to create buffer stocks of chemical weapons and the position of France, which advocates an early convention to ban these weapons. It would amount to discrimination if a country were denied the opportunity to have a minimum number of chemical weapons until things are cleared up.

Lest anyone feel inclined to overdramatize the situation, let me add that we are not talking of a binding decision, but only of the possibility of creating a limited stock which will be under strict control and will be eliminated after a chemical weapons ban is signed.

Jasjit Singh, Director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, India.

What is India's attitude to the process of disarmament?

We have never been satisfied with mere arms control. India advocates and has always advocated global and universal nuclear disarmament. Since the time of our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, our country has made a large number of proposals in this field. Of the latest initiatives it is enough to mention the Group of Six proposals.

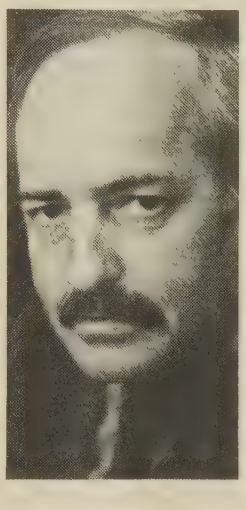
During the Gorbachev visit to India in November 1986 the principles of building a nuclear-free and non-violent world were formulated. India is in favour of eliminating chemical weapons and reducing conventional weapons. This position on the part of the Indian government is shared by the academic community. It is the sincere wish of the Indian people.

That is why we have welcomed the first real step towards disarmament - the signing of the Soviet-American treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles. India's own efforts are aimed at demonstrating to other countries the feasibility of nuclear disarmament by refraining from joining "the Nuclear Club" (although we have the potential for it).

EVGENY ANDRIANOV
and KONSTANTIN ISAKOV

Dreamers and drummers

ALEXEI BUKALOV



20 YEARS AFTER THE DEATH OF MARTIN LUTHER KING

The 20th century has set many records, one of which is that for the number of political assassinations. Nevertheless, a world accustomed to the sound of shots and bomb explosions trembled when it heard that single shot in the small American town of Memphis twenty years ago.

On April 4, 1968, the black American leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr Martin Luther King Jr was killed by a hired assassin.

I still remember how shocked I was by the news broadcast by Radio Moscow the following morning. A sense of personal loss was felt by people in different corners of the earth – millions of people felt they had lost a true friend.

"Free at last, free at last. Thank God almighty, I'm free at last" – those words from an old Negro spiritual are engraved on the marble stone on King's grave, the grave of a man who fought for the freedom of his brethren and who himself set the world a great example of inner freedom and harmony of spirit. Here are the words from a taped sermon by Martin Luther King rang out at his funeral: "When I go don't bother to mention I have a Nobel Peace Prize for that doesn't matter... Just say I was a drum major for justice; a drum major for peace who tried to make of this old world a New World." Thus he summed up his main cause of life.

"I have a dream..." was the title of King's speech in Washington 25 years ago, a speech that became world famous. He dreamed of the day when on the beautiful hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and sons of former slave-owners would be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood... He dreamed of the day when his four small children would live in a country where they would be judged not by the colour of their skin, but on their merits.

He lived to be 39. Is that a lot or a little? "Life is long when it is a full one," said Seneca. "Let us judge it by its deeds, not its length." Martin Luther King's life was packed with deeds. Fearless himself, he helped millions of his countrymen to shed their fears.

A great example, it is said, transcends space and time. Thus, in the American South King used the method of civil disobedience proclaimed by Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle against the British colonialists in far-off India.

In the eyes of the majority King's ideas were considered naive and utopian, something that could happen only in the remote future. But the future begins today. And it looks as if the world is gradually maturing to accept King's ideas.

King believed in the power of reason, and was able to persuade and unite people. Today, twenty years later, peace and protest marches have encircled the globe. The voice of the masses is increasingly making itself heard in the offices of politicians. People's diplomacy is influencing government decisions. That is one of the things King bequeathed us.

He knew and understood something that had not yet been realized by most of his contemporaries. A heightened sense of responsibility helped him to look further into the future. He tolled the bell, calling on people to unite to save mankind from the arms race. In his Nobel speech in 1964, Dr King angrily rejected the cynical supposition that one nation after the other would escalate the militarist spiral into the hell of thermonuclear destruction. He spoke of the deprivations suffered by hundreds of millions of people and called for a worldwide war against poverty, not just against its symptoms, but also against its main causes. That appeal is still relevant today.

The posthumously published interview with Dr King is the bequest of a born optimist where he said that millions of people fought in thousands of battles to bring greater freedom and achieve progress. That is why I remain an optimist, he proclaimed, although I appreciate full well the obstacles facing us.

Twenty years have passed, and in another hemisphere another preacher and black Nobel Prize winner the South African Bishop Desmond Tutu, like King before him, is calling for equality for all peoples of the world, their race or nationality notwithstanding.

Twenty years have passed, and another black preacher, a close friend and associate of Dr King, Jesse Jackson, a contender for U.S. presidency, is winning the support of millions of voters in different states, quoting Dr King's behests about universal brotherhood and progress.

Dr King's ideas are invisible participants in today's political life as well. It is largely thanks to such Don Quixotes as he that the very concept of human rights has moved from the pages of charters and declarations to the agenda of diplomatic negotiations, and has become an important element in contemporary international relations.

I should like to recall another aspect of Dr King's political views. There was a time when, as he himself said, he took a negative view of communism, regarding it as an evil. But a month before his death, in a speech devoted to that great black communist scholar William Du Bois he admitted that "our irrational obsessive anti-communism has led us into too many quagmires to be retained."

...Not long ago American calendars noted officially only one birthday, that of George Washington, the first President of the United States. Now every third Monday in January is marked as the birthday of another Great American, Dr Martin Luther King.

Trade and peace go together

Private businessmen in Afghanistan are assisting the process of national reconciliation.

It is customary in reporting on Afghan industry to speak of major state-run industrial facilities built largely with economic and technological assistance from the Soviet Union. However, medium and small privately owned businesses predominate in the country. Most of them use obsolete machinery, but those set up more recently are better equipped.

During our stay in Mazari-Sharif, the administrative centre of the northern province of Balkh, we visited two factories belonging to the Barat company. Both of them were opened last year, the first year of the policy of national reconciliation, their owner stressed during our meeting. One of the factories manufactures cardboard boxes and the other, polyethylene bags under contract from a neighbouring nitric fertilizer factory. Formerly, the bags were imported. These enterprises – as, incidentally, the company's third and older one engaged in raisin-making – offer their employees better living and working conditions than others.

Rasul Barat

The owner of the factories was out of town when we arrived. His business keeps him away from home for days on end. He has a villa in a fashionable district of Kabul and it was there that he received our group of Moscow journalists.

At the age of 30, Rasul Barat, a Pashtoon, is a seasoned businessman. He inherited his business from his father. He works hard to expand the family business, which now operates in several industries. Rasul Barat is president of three companies, Barat, Farid and Barat International Transit. The companies handle exports and imports and organize the transportation of goods via Soviet territory for delivery to Mazari-Sharif and Kabul. Most Afghan entrepreneurs are engaged in trade, as Afghan industry is still in its infancy. Rasul Barat believes that Afghanistan needs an industrial base of its own. His factories are a contribution, albeit a modest one, to the industrial development of the country.

Commerce is the basis of his business, however. His company trades with various countries, Japan and the F.R.G. among them, but its biggest partner is the Soviet Union. His father began doing business with the Soviet Union 45 years ago, and since then there have been no breaks in the company's ties with us.

In the past few years the company has imported several hundred Soviet cars from AVTOEXPORT annually. The company also takes orders for Japanese and West German cars. He showed off his collection of several Toyotas, a silvery Mercedes, and Soviet-made Volgas, Moskvitches and Nivas. We were impressed by the cars and the scale of Barat's business. He is a man with an eye to the future, no mere businessman, but also a subtle politician who is helping put an end to the bloodshed in his country.

Rasul Barat is a member of the Supreme Extreme Commission on National Reconciliation, and a member of a similar commission in his native Balkh Province. He has donated 6,000 dollars, or 600 thousand afghanis, to a fund to take care of refugees returning from abroad. On the eve of our meeting he had donated a considerable sum to the commission on national reconciliation. His contribution to national reconciliation is not confined to donations, however, although they, too, are important. A man of great authority, he has many contacts and is helping the government enter into talks with rebel leaders in order to induce them to lay down their arms. He was instrumental recently in getting three leaders of major armed groups to go over to the government side. One of them is an expert at bozkashi (a national game) pahlawan Kassem. Many former rank-and-file members of the armed opposition are now employed at his enterprises.

He is also looking to the future of his country. He financed the construction of a school, which was built very quickly, in a mere three months, with a donation of 50,000 dollars. At the moment he is planning to finance the construction of a hospital in Mazari-Sharif, and of course he is also planning to expand his own business.

Is it not a risky undertaking to do business, let alone make major investments, in time of war?

Rasul Barat's voice is gentle and persuasive:

An entrepreneur needs peace more than anything and as soon as possible. Businessmen have to bear heavy losses sustained in long haulage as a result of the war. That is why all businessmen without exception are in favour of national reconciliation, which has come to express the will of the Afghan people. Last year's national conference of private entrepreneurs made that abundantly clear.

The private sector gets guarantees

The conference made an important contribution to stimulating the private sector in Afghanistan. Following the April revolution of 1978, private enterprise in the country was allowed to develop freely, except for a period of leftist excesses at the outset, during the Amin government. Some entrepreneurs, however, chose to go abroad, fearing for their lives and capital. Naturally, they transferred their assets to foreign banks. Some settled in Pakistan and Iran, and joined the armed struggle against the Kabul government. Most Afghan businessmen stayed at home and assumed a wait-and-see

attitude, taking almost no part in the government's projects. However, they do want peace because the undeclared war did considerable damage to their property.

What is the situation like today? We were given a general idea of it by Sayed Amanoddin Amin, deputy chairman of the Afghan Council of Ministers. A prominent politician, he served under former governments and received his present post after the policy of national reconciliation was proclaimed. He said that the private sector predominates in the economy of the republic. It accounts for 90 per cent of farm output, 50 per cent of industrial and artisan industries, and 70 per cent of road haulage.

A whole range of political concessions were made as part of the policy of national reconciliation as the economy was reoriented toward broader involvement by private entrepreneurs, who have a stake in the development of the nation in the future as well as in increasing their own capital. President Najibullah described the private sector as one of the prime engines of national reconciliation.

Rasul Barat, a businessman.

Photo by Y. Prokofyev

The position of all who stand in the way of private enterprise has grown considerably weaker. Article 25 of the new Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan says that the state guarantees the immunity of private capital with a view to developing the national economy, and encourages the involvement of private entrepreneurs in developing industry, trade, civil engineering, transport, agriculture and other branches of the economy within the framework of existing legislation.

The policy of national reconciliation enables private entrepreneurs to feel secure and contribute their initiative to promoting national reconciliation. They have been dubbed "merchants of peace" in Afghanistan. Over the past year, 133 private businesses were opened and 30 reopened.

Joint-stock companies

Rasul Barat and his competitors and partners view national reconciliation as an expression of the will of the Afghan people, and that attitude is a measure of the change in public attitudes in favour of new thinking as outmoded stereotypes are discarded. That is very important; it is no secret that blood feuds are still very much a part of life in the country. Rasul Barat says that his brother and father died in the civil war. Almost every Afghan family has suffered in the war. It is a national tragedy, he says. You can compensate for material damage, he continues. If one of my cars is smashed I can buy another, but nothing will ever bring my father and brother back to life. His eyes are sad, but there is no sign of anger or desire for vengeance in them. Courageously, he has reconciled himself to the tragedy, aware that another blood feud would do the country no good.

Rasul Barat smiles at his son, who has joined us in the living room. "He is my hope," he says patting the boy on the head. "He will carry on and continue our family business and our trade and friendly links with the Soviet Union. Now that direct links have been established between regions in the Soviet Union and the Afghan provinces, we have more room for manoeuvre in dealing directly with the neighbouring Soviet republics. We export farm produce to Uzbekistan and import matches, soap, salt and cement. These commodities are badly needed by ordinary people." Rasul Barat has no objections at all to setting up joint-stock companies with the Soviet Union.

Very soon a store and a restaurant carrying the same name of Balkh will open in Tashkent, a joint undertaking of the Barat company and the Soviet side. The director of the company will be a Soviet citizen, and the assistant director, an Afghan appointed by Rasul Barat. Credits supplied by the Soviet Union will be used to equip three factories in the Balkh Province. Rasul Barat says that two of them will produce bottles and the third, fruit juices and soft drinks. He also has plans to build big hotels in Mazar and Tashkent. Understandably, these projects can only go ahead if there is peace. Rasul Barat hopes that peace will come soon and eagerly looks forward to good news from Geneva. He also hopes that after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the Afghans will manage to achieve national reconciliation, unity and political stability. Many more Afghan businessmen will then take an interest in joint ventures in cooperation with the Soviet side.

We walked out into the yard of his house. Rasul Barat hugged his little son.

"I love him so much," he said smiling. "Believe it or not," he continued, his voice grave, "every wretched kid in the streets of Kabul or my native Mazar breaks my heart. I dream of a day when all the children in Afghanistan will have enough rice and meat, when all of them will have sweets and milk, when they will go to school well fed and clothed, and draw in their exercise books doves of Mazar, a symbol of peace and tranquility in the ancient land of Afghanistan."

ALEXANDER GORYANOV
Mazari-Sharif – Kabul – Moscow

Whose flags flutter in the Persian Gulf?

From our special correspondent TIMUR GAIDAR

Tankers and bulk carriers have their courses laid out for them, and so do warships. Neither the one nor the other change course without having very good reason to do so. To transfer from one ship to another at sea you have to wait for an opportune moment.

A week on the Spasatel

I had been waiting for such an opportunity for nearly a week on board the Spasatel in the Persian Gulf. Whether lying at anchor or cruising the Gulf, it is ready at a moment's notice to hasten to the aid of any ship in distress.

Rear Admiral (Res.) Timur Gaidar, writer and journalist, is the author of books about the Soviet armed forces, specifically the navy, and about Cuba and Afghanistan. Continued from our Issues Nos.12 and 13.

The Spasatel is classed as a tug, but it should not be confused with the kind hung all round with automobile-tyre buffers employed in ports to help ships to dock or to cast off from their moorings.

The salvage tug is a vessel of a different class. It is built for the open sea, for battles and victories. For battling with trouble and for victory over the elements. It is not big, but it is extremely powerful and seaworthy. It has high-power engines and two propellors. It is highly manoeuverable. Has powerful pumps to pump out water and cannon-like hydromonitors to fight fires. The mess can be instantly transformed into a surgical operation room whose equipment can be envied by many a hospital on land.

Particularly impressive is the conning bridge. It is completely glassed in, with a slight inward slant at the base. It gives you the feeling of being in the cockpit of a huge helicopter. With a heavy heaving sound the bow cuts into the waves, sending up a gleaming spray; the water is so close that you can see the bubbles of air on it streaming towards the surface. The next moment the rugged sea seems far below again.

The captain of the Spasatel , Vladimir Shatinsky, is heading for the stern of the refrigerator ship Karadag. His eyes on the waves and his mind on the wind strength, he approaches the Karadag slowly with the main engine turning at just enough speed to make the vessel respond reliably to the rudder.

The trawler Turbinist breasts the waves nearby. One can guess with what eager anticipation the men on board it are watching the Spasatel's manoeuvres. The foodstuffs and fresh vegetables the Karadag has brought can wait until the wind drops and the waves settle. But the mail! The canvas sack with letters for the seamen of the Turbinist is lying on the stern of the Karadag and the Spasatel, true to the laws of maritime comradeship, is hastening to pick it up.

On the forecastle of the Spasatel the yellow helmets of two sailors and the boatswain are visible through the spray and froth. The seamen have their safety belts on.

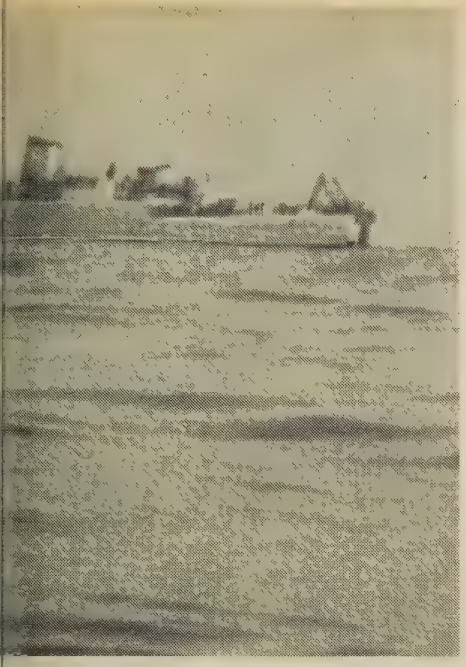
We are edging in metre by metre.

The stern of the Karadag – at this range we are close enough to see the patches, a dent and rivets – now rises above our bridge, now drops down under our bow. It's like a game, like swinging on a giant swing.

Breasting the headwind and unwinding in the air, the rope is cast across. Now at last the mail sack is on board the Spasatel. It is borne triumphantly into the cabin of first mate Ivan Leonov.

Now the Spasatel heads for the Turbinist...

Next morning the sea has calmed down. The three ships lie alongside, gangways are laid from deck to deck and



for a few hours a small Soviet floating townlet comes into being in the Persian Gulf. While the Karadag cranes are busy transferring crates, sacks, boxes, etc., there is time to pay visits, exchange films and books and to chew the rag. Different decks, different faces. Even for me, a brief guest in the Gulf, this makes a pleasant change.

The Captain of the Karadag, Nikolai Burlak, hands me a bundle of newspapers published in English in the Gulf countries – Gulf News, Arabian Times. The papers are comparatively fresh. He bought them only two days ago in Dubai.

Reports of happenings in the Gulf. An Iraqi plane had fired a missile at the Iranian tanker, Makran. Iranian patrol boats attacked the tanker Tavistock. A British frigate witnessed the attack but did not interfere...

Interesting news from Bombay. An international conference on commercial shipping had been held there, attended by about 200 delegates from 41 countries. The conference had declared for the creation in the Gulf of an international naval force under the U.N. flag.

Reuter's report from Muskat that Oman will support the idea of an international force which would include Soviet ships. This was stated by Yousef bin al-Alawi Abdullah, Oman State Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Asked whether the Soviet Union was trying to establish a permanent presence in the Gulf, the Minister said there was nothing to prevent the Soviet Union, like other countries, maintaining a presence in the Gulf or in any other international waters.

As a matter of fact, he said, the Soviet Union was keeping a low-profile presence in the Gulf and so long as that presence contributed to the cause of peace Oman had no objections.

80 miles in comparative safety

That evening the Spasatel took leave of the Turbinist and the Karadag and set out southward to the Strait of Hormuz. The moon, now looking like a bit-into apple, hung again over the mast. Behind us lay a wide glistening wake churned up by the Spasatel's propellors.

I would soon be leaving the boat and boarding another ship. And although I was looking forward impatiently to this, I felt a little sad. I had grown accustomed to the Spasatel, to its close-knit crew, I knew the hours when drinking water was available, I never forgot to remove my shoes, as was the custom, on entering anyone's cabin. On the table in every cabin lay photographs under glass of the wife and the children, and on the wall the inevitable calendar with circles around the days and the past months blacked out. The Spasatel had been in the Gulf since last August. When they would be going home was still unknown.

After the Ras Tannura lighthouse we entered the widest part of the Gulf, where there are neither islands nor oil rigs. Attacks here are rare. For about 80 miles you are in comparative safety. Nevertheless the ship portholes are blacked out by heavy drapes and on the top deck only the running lights are on.

To pass the time I leaf through the sailing directions for the Persian Gulf on the bridge.

"Navigation conditions favourable on the whole, but scorching heat combined with humidity, sand and dust have an enervating effect on the novice. This is one of the hottest parts of the World Ocean..."

Now in the winter months there is less heat. But dust and sand still settle on deck.

"Look, that could be a convoy!" Victor Merkulov, the man at the helm, called to me.

Four dots showed on the radar screen. An even chain. Like peas in a pod. Suddenly two white flecks separated from the last of the dots, and rapidly approached our darkened ship. In a few moments, red and blue flashes alternated on the horizon. Helicopters...

It was evidently one of the convoys the Americans form before entering the Strait of Hormuz. This time the tankers were escorted by the helicopter-carrier Okinawa.

About half way to the Spasatel the 'copters turned back. They had obviously identified the Soviet tug. Everybody knows everyone else here in the Gulf. The two white flecks approached the dot, merged with it, and disappeared. I returned to the sailing directions.

"Strong tidal currents make sailing in the Strait of Hormuz difficult at night..."

If only currents were the sole difficulty! Ever since the "tanker war" began the Strait of Hormuz has been one of the most dangerous parts of the Gulf. It is narrow, with a string of islands off the northern shore from which armed patrol boats are likely to emerge. For aircraft, too, this place where all the tanker routes converge is a favourite hunting ground.

Nevertheless the concepts of "danger" and "safety" are relative as applied to the Persian Gulf.

Everything here is close by, nearly everything is viable to all. The Spasatel had seen how the Americans stopped an Iranian ship they captured; the Ivan Karateyev had passed close enough to the U.S. frigate Stark to see the damage done to it by a missile fired by an Iraqi aircraft.

The other day we passed a handsome white tanker flying the Danish flag. The following evening we switched on the TV in the messroom as usual. The shore was near and the quality of the transmission was perfect. The Bahrein TV was broadcasting the latest news. There on the screen was the same white tanker, this time with its superstructure wrecked by a missile, there were ambulances on the pier, stretchers, blood on the sheets...

"What a mad world we're living in!" the Spasatel's diver Kostya Shalaru, a Moldavian of giant build, said bitterly. The others sat silent, avoiding one another's eyes. This happens every time you see people in distress and are powerless to help.

Meeting the Admiral Tributz

At the appointed time and in the appointed place the Spasatel rendezvoused with the submarine chaser Admiral Tributz. Its elegant lines – gun turrets, missile launchers, funnels, its masts with their radar antennas – were silhouetted against the sunset sky.

The launch sent over from the Tributz danced madly on the waves, listed from side to side, leapt and plunged in the foaming waters. But no sooner do you step on board the Tributz than the roll is gone. For this ship such seas are mere child's play.

...The formidable missiles slumber in their steel cocons. The gun turrets are motionless. Machine guns speak up, first on the portside, then on starboard. Greande-throwers begin coughing. Then the machine guns join in. White spouts break the surface of the water. Taking note of each target hit, registering every miss, but not yet interfering, the commander of the Admiral Tributz, Captain

Vladimir Yelovsky watches the training exercise. This is all a run-of-the-mill chore for him. But I had never seen a top-class ship of this size engage in such close-range "action." Practically the equivalent of hand-to-hand fighting on land!...

Yelovsky checks up on the preparedness of his ship to repulse an attack by marauders. White strips of foam rubber ripped up by machine-gun bullets remain bobbing on the water – mute evidence of the effectiveness of the exercise. In these waters you have to be prepared for every eventuality.

The training exercise over, the Admiral Tributz got under way, followed by the tanker Grozny. We headed northwards through parts of the Gulf I had already seen. But from the bridge of a big warship you naturally get a rather different view of it.

"Warship ahoy! Warship ahoy!" a voice from the loudspeaker broke the silence. "Did you call us? We've had trouble with our radio. Warship ahoy! Did you call us? This is the Suzanne, Panama. Bound for Dubai. Over."

Chief mate Sergei Sinitsa picked up the microphone. "Suzanne! Suzanne! Warship here. No, we did not call you..." He began in English but for some reason he ended up in French: "Bon voyage, Suzanne." "Merci, bon voyage," the Suzanne replied.

As we know, after a brief absence the eye looks for changes but after a long absence one seeks for the familiar, the customary.

"Distance forty kilometres," someone reported to the bridge. That is something you did not hear in the navy before; it used to be "miles" and "cables." The word "kilometre" came to the navy along with torpedoes.

Climbing up and down ladders and opening heavy steel doors, Captain 3rd rank Igor Lisovsky and I toured the ship from bow to stern. The operational room. The combat information centre. Power and damage central control. Television and computer screens. Roomy crew's quarters. No more double-decker bunks. A galley with shiny nickel fittings. The ship's library. The ship's museum. A large photograph of the pleasant-faced girl Nina Pshenichnikova, the ship's "godmother," a topnotch shipyard worker. Helicopters in the hangar. Down the ladders again into the depths of the ship. Here, too, the air is fresh and cool, touched, true, with the familiar smell of machine oil and warm linoleum.

The bugle sounds in the loudspeakers. The first note is prolonged, even mournful. And then comes the quick, rousing tune, and my memory conjures up the old familiar words: "Ivan Kuzmich, pick up your brush and swab, swab, swab..." Hallo there, Ivan Kuzmich! Still serving the fleet, I see!

On the bulletin board outside the wardroom there is an announcement: "Prospects of further service for officers." It shows who is in line for promotion, who for study, who for service ashore...

This is also new. Formerly such plans were not announced.

"We are navymen..."

The atmosphere in the wardroom is worth noting. Conversation begun at one end of the table suddenly becomes general and is punctuated with laughter. It is not customary to talk shop at mealtime, but somehow, by way of hints and wisecracks, one gets an idea of shipboard life today. Soon the talk turns to other subjects.

"I've heard of mock gunnery. But has anyone heard of mock dinners?"

The remark is clearly addressed to Senior Lieutenant Alexander Marchenko, the communications officer. He is very popular on board. He has a broad, open face and a warm smile. He is a natural born cook. Wearing a white smock over his uniform, he joins the cook in his spare time concocting sauces and salads. His fellow officers invariably elect him supervisor of the wardroom table. But they cannot resist poking fun at him.

"The meals are balanced, nourishing and tasty. Remember, heavy food dulls the reactions. It is especially bad for gunners."

The commander smiles at the retort, lays aside his napkin and rises from the table. All the officers follow suit. Together with the commander, I climb to the deckhouse. The Sossan oil rigs should come into sight soon. There are a great many of them there and traffic is particularly heavy.

"What do you think about the idea of an international naval force in the Gulf?" I ask the captain.

Yelovsky does not answer at once. He scans the horizon through his binoculars. Goes over to the huge, light-blue screen giving a detailed view of the situation. Then he returns to the glass front of the deckhouse.

"An international force? What can I say... We are navymen. We do as we are ordered."

I understand the commander's reserve in a way. It is not simply a matter of the discipline that long years of naval service have ingrained in him. All this time he has been acquiring knowledge himself and teaching his men. And perhaps it is not easy to imagine that your ship might suddenly find itself part of a unit commanded by some foreign, say, New Zealand or Indian admiral and carrying out an assignment together with some American ship.

I recall that at first the idea had struck me, too, as strange, unusual. But when you stop to think you realize that it is perfectly logical. Almost any local armed conflict wherever it might occur is fraught with the danger of developing into an armed clash between opposing groups of countries. A local armed conflict could thus become the detonator of an explosion with disastrous consequences. That is why it is vitally necessary not to fan the flames of conflicts but to find ways by joint efforts of extinguishing the fire through reasonable compromises.

"But from the purely military standpoint," I persisted. "Would you say that a force under the United Nations flag could ensure the safety of shipping in the Persian Gulf more effectively?"

"That depends on many things. On what forces and means would be deployed, how they would be directed and what powers the command would have. In principle, of course, it is easier to fulfil any assignment when the forces are under a single command and operating in conformity with a common plan. In that case, incidentlaly, considerably fewer ships would be needed."

Carried away now, he draws a concise picture of the situation today. American, French, British and Italian ships in the Gulf. Their zones of operation. Large naval units nearby. The aircraft carriers Midway and Clemenceau, the battleship Iowa and the cruiser Ticonderoga, destroyers, frigates...

"And, mark you, the number of attacks on merchant vessels in the Gulf has by no means decreased since the Western powers began concentrating all these forces here. On the contrary, it has increased."

He stopped short and raised the binoculars to his eyes once more.

On the horizon, covering almost a third of it, there emerged, amid clouds of smoke and flickering flame, the steel masts and superstructures of oil rigs.

"Looks like the German High Seas Fleet in the battle of Jutland," I remarked.

"No," the commander objected. "The angle isn't right. It is the British that would be coming from that direction. But, sure enough, there is a similarity."

Of course the view opening up before us had nothing in common with the famous battle fought between Britain and Germany in May 1916. It was just that the Admiral Tributz had entered the oilfields of Sossan. From a distance the oil rigs did look like battleships and heavy armoured cruisers deployed for action. The commander and I had been reminded of something quite different: the history

room in naval school.

Yelovsky and I graduated from the same school. True, at different times. I, during the war, he, much later. But we both remember that naval history room through which many generations of our naval officers had passed.

I remember how amazed I was by one impressive figure – the total weight of a salvo fired by all the 250 ships that took part in the battle of Jutland. Now, compared with modern weaponry, the destructive power of that salvo seems negligible.

The commander glanced at his watch. "The time is also about the same. As far as I remember, the battle began at 15 hours."

This was an old naval cadet's trick – a test of naval erudition.

"Approximately," I said. "To be exact, it started at 14 hours 30 minutes."

The Grozny goes to Kuwait

I returned to Kuwait on board the Grozny. Two other Soviet tankers, also chartered by Kuwait, carry oil to European countries. The Grozny is on the shorter, Kuwait-Karachi route. Five days at sea, one day unloading, another day taking on diesel fuel. And again, to sea. The Grozny thus has to pass through dangerous waters far more often than other Soviet tankers.

The term "tanker war" is taboo on this ship.

"It's not a war," says Grozny's captain Sergei Kemarsky. "It's downright highway brigandage!

"Seaway brigandage, you mean," says Chief Engineer Boris Bashmakov.

Like all tankers, the Grozny has a vast expanse of deck. To provide the ship and its crew maximum protection against explosion and fire, the superstructure, the engine room, crew's quarters and other essential services – everything possible – have been concentrated in the stern. The deck is painted green, and looking down from the bridge you seem to be on the grandstand of a sport stadium, with the players about to come running out onto the football field at any moment.

But the deck is deserted all day long. To be exact, only two figures are to be seen on it in the daytime: boatswain Mikhail Mikhailidi and the grey-bearded seaman Yusuf Panesh. They go about with pails of red lead and green paint, with steel scrapers and brushes. Scrubbing the deck and touching up the paintwork. They work until nightfall when the orders are to close all exits, hatches and portholes and no one is allowed on the top deck except by permission of the watch on duty.

This is one of the essential precautionary measures here.

The boatswain has curly hair slightly touched with grey. Merry green eyes. Shortish muscular arms, so darkened by the sun and work that the intricate tatooing is barely discernible. The play of muscles under his singlet is plainly visible. It is hard to believe that Mikhailidi celebrated his 60th birthday on this trip.

Mikhailidi has been with the Grozny since 1975. He was a member of the first crew to man the ship after its completion at the Swan Hunter shipyards in Britain. Of that initial crew nine, about half of the total, are still with the Grozny. As a matter of fact, most of the other Grozny seamen have served on it for a long time. Such long service records are rare today in our merchant fleet.

Now, too, before being assigned to the Persian Gulf the crew resisted attempts by the shore services to introduce changes in the ship's complement. True, they did agree not to have any women on board on this assignment. Meals are served on the ship by Sasha Slezak, a handsome youth wearing a spotless starched white jacket and a black bowtie.

One does not have to spend much time on board to sense the close friendship uniting the crew. This makes itself felt in the way they dress, how orders are issued and carried out, and in the men's attitude to one another when off duty.

In the evenings all who are off duty – both officers and crewmen – gather in the messroom.

"Remember that time we stopped at Barcelona?"

"No, that was in Jibuti."

"Now, when we were on the way back from Fos-sur-Mer..."

Doubtless everyone has moments that are precious to him, some special moments when he feels at peace with himself and the world. For one man it is the silence of the forest and the whisper of a river, for another, it is the weight of fresh soil on his shovel, or the scent of autumn leaves, the smoke of a bonfire, for still others it is the roar of the grandstands when your favourite team has scored a long-awaited goal...There are a great many joys. But for me one of the greatest pleasures of life is listening to the leisurely talk of seasoned seamen on shipboard out in the open sea.

I called Moscow by radio telephone from the Grozny. With modern communications this is no problem.

Radio operator Sasha Kundryukov flipped switches, twiddled knobs, and blue lights flashed onto the transmitter panel.

"Moscow-radio! Moscow-radio! This is the Grozny calling from the Persian Gulf. Over."

"Grozny, Grozny! This is Moscow-radio. Hold on. Hold on. You're fifth in line," a voice said.

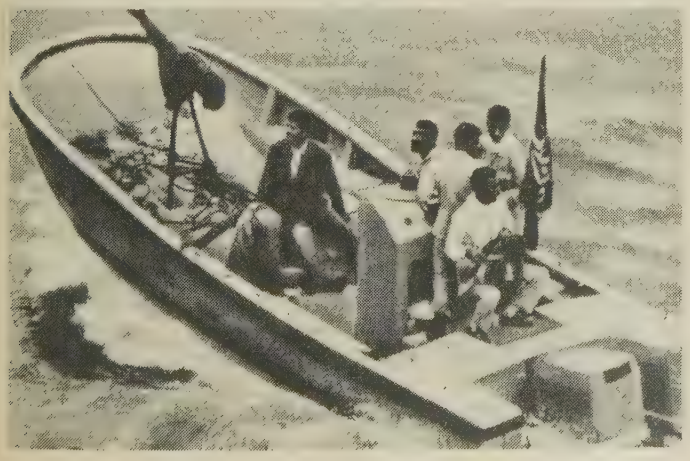
As we waited, tuned in to Moscow, a distant flood of love, affection, concern and warmth reached us over the radio waves. We did not hear the ships, only the faraway shore. Women's voices, children's voices. "Sasha! Can you hear me? We are all right. Everything is fine! How are you? How's your health? Petya got a four for mathematics!"

...We reached Kuwait at dawn. A dead calm. Silence. The edge of a pale sun came up over the horizon, seemed to stand still for a moment, streaked with wisps of cloud. Then it quickly climbed, becoming hotter and hotter and laying a path of molten gold on the surface of the gulf.

The Grozny slipped along at low speed, waiting for the pilot. Seagulls swooped down to deck level, screaming now and then as if trying to tell us something, to warn us, and once again I recalled the old seafarer's belief that the gulls are the souls of dead seamen.

Some time ago the New York Times observed editorially: "The Reagan Administration still seems stuck on the cusp of its own ambivalence about Persian Gulf policy. Some days it frets about Iran's assaults on ships and regional stability; other days, it worries more about the Soviet Union taking advantage of the turbulence.

"Just when it seemed that the President had resolved the debate by naming Iran as the clear danger, the State Department jumped the other way and simply dismissed a Soviet suggestion to put the United Nations flag on a joint naval force policing the Gulf."



An Iranian patrol boat. Waiting for a target?
From Der Spiegel magazine

The human equation of space marathons

The first book on space travel in world literature was the novel, "How to Write History," by Lucian, a Greek who lived in Syria in the 2nd century A.D. The novel told of a ship with fifty men on board which had been tossed up by a hurricane as high as the moon and the sun. Stars have had a strong appeal for great scientists and thinkers, as well as for writers of fiction for centuries. We live in the age of the space dream come true, and we now take a largely utilitarian view of outer space, often asking ourselves: what's the practical use of space research?

Below we interview Academician OLEG GAZENKO

The history of space research is already decades old. The time of long manned space flights has come. Drawing upon past experience, can we predict what the Universe has in store for man? And are we really well-advised to probe ever deeper into it?

Expanding into outer space is an alternative course for mankind's continued progress.

I am sure that space research comes naturally from man's eternal thirst for knowledge. It is to this amazing human curiosity that we owe all the fruits of civilization, when all's said and done. What this curiosity can bring is not always predictable. The tragic side-effects of the process of cognition are common knowledge. I mean, for instance, the creation of atomic weapons; it all started with the desire to unravel the mysteries of the atom and understand its structure...

By the middle of this century, the period of euphoric dreams had come to an end, and man accumulated enough practical experience of space travel to assess the practical returns of space research...

The pioneers of space exploration thought about its immediate practical benefits to man. Konstantin Tsiolkovsky predicted that space would give man "oceans of might and mountains of bread." Those were, of course, speculations that research findings did not support. In those years it was hard to say, in so many words, what man expected to get from space; now it's much easier to do so.

Well, what does space research bring us? First and foremost, invaluable scientific information essential for fundamental natural studies, for the exploration of the Solar system's planets and remote objects in our Galaxy, and for the understanding of evolutionary processes in the Universe. What we learn about outer space helps us understand the laws governing the evolution of matter, living matter included, give a more thorough study to the structure of our earth, and go a long way towards resolving mankind's pressing problems, such as the rational use of terrestrial resources and the protection of the environment. These problems can be coped with only given precise scientific data, of which there is still a dearth.

We are obtaining important information about the state of the atmosphere, which comes in extremely useful to meteorologists. Space research has enabled us to make impressive headway in the study of the World Ocean, and in determining its biomass content, which information is known to be of the utmost importance for pisciculture and commercial fishing. The remote sounding of the earth from space helps explore the earth's vegetation, determine the quantitative and qualitative composition of forest massifs, assess mineral deposits, forecast crop yields, warn of impending natural disasters, and carry out glacial surveys, which are important to navigation.

Add to this the use of repeater satellites capable of relaying information to any, even the remotest and most inaccessible part of the world.

And still, is what we spend on space exploration proportionate to its practical benefits?

It certainly is. The sums spent on space research are a long-term investment which, however, is already bringing ever growing dividends to the national economy. It should also be borne in mind that space exloration stimulates scientific and technological progress.

What are the far-reaching objectives of and trends in space research?

First of all, it aims at exploring outer space and the celestial bodies as a likely future "habitat" for man. It's still a bit too early for man to think of quitting the earth, but we should already see other planets

as our potential new homes – hence the need to study their atmosphere, nature and other characteristics.

Second, there are the earth's energy problems to deal with. We shall eventually use up our oil, natural gas, coal and wood. Atomic energy is an alternative to these, but we must look for new energy sources because human civilization depends heavily on energy for its continued existence. Enormous solar energy resources are found in outer space. The storing of this energy by space solar stations and its transfer to earth is a crucial technological problem whose solution is a matter for the distant future.

Third, the earth's mineral resources are giving out. The development of mineral deposits found on other planets is an important long-term objective.

These are far-reaching plans. What is space research concerned with today?

It can be divided into several categories. The first is the study of the nature of space. This is a sustained effort which has been in progress for years. Special automatic instruments and vehicles are produced and sent to various parts of the Solar system – both to the earth's "neighbours" like Mars and Venus, and further out to the peripheral planets. Such vehicles – some of them fitted with descent modules – send back important data on the atmosphere and the surfaces of celestial bodies. The value of this data is hard to overestimate: we already have television pictures of Saturn's satellites and rings.

The parts of the Galaxy adjacent to the Solar system can be explored by means of vehicles capable of going beyond the confines of the Solar system. Furthermore, this exploration can already be carried out from a spaceship. The Kvant module, attached to the Mir station, is equipped with astronomical instruments for observing remote regions of the Universe. Viewing them from the earth is impossible due to the screening properties of the terrestrial atmosphere.

Another interesting research project concentrates on man in space. It involves a host of scientific, practical and technological problems.

Man is a product of the earth, and it is only on the earth that he feels completely at home. Can he live in space indefinitely? As far as I know, the idea of an international trip to Mars is now under discussion...

Indeed, this idea is being discussed in earnest. Mind you, an expedition of that kind would take two or three years, so the natural question is how the problems involved, including medico-biological ones, are to be dealt with. Today cosmonauts stay up for nearly a year, and this is by no means the limit. I think the answer lies in gradually prolonging the duration of manned orbital missions, although a flight to Mars would be distinguished by a number of specific features.

While orbiting the earth, a cosmonaut can return to earth before he has completed his mission. But a Mars-bound spaceship would have to reach that planet come what may and carry out the entire programme of the expedition. Therefore every provision must be made for the cosmonauts' maximum safety. We shall have to radically revise life-supporting techniques. The practice now is to take the necessary supplies along, and then have them replenished by a visiting transport ship. A Mars-bound ship will have to depend on entirely new life-support techniques known under the general name of regenerative; these are closed cycles of the kind existing in the earth's biosphere.

For example, we exhale carbon dioxide; plants process it and give out the oxygen man needs to breathe. We consume water, which then goes through a complicated regenerative process to come back to us as water or the water content of food. Given such recycling systems, cosmonauts will be able to limit the supplies they take along to what cannot be regenerated. The results of research in this field are certain to come in useful on earth too.

In our laboratories we are already succeeding in regenerating breathing air and drinking water. A biological reactor of a capacity of about 10 litres can meet one man's oxygen requirements. The problem of regenerating food from waste matter is extremely complicated; no solution has yet been found to it, but we are exploring various possibilities.

Do the benefits of space exploration justify the exposure of spacemen to deadly risks? After all, outer space means high vacuum, specific temperature conditions, all kinds of radiation and virtually unpredictable solar activity...

Space undertakings add up to a new and extremely complex sphere of human endeavour which involves a certain amount of risk. However, the whole record of manned space flights bears witness to the fact that every effort is being made to reduce health and life hazards to a minimum.

Is there a danger of long manned space flights having a delayed effect on cosmonauts' health? Could their consequences show in, say, 15-20 years, if not in a year or two?

Space is a complex medium, alien to man, and many dangers lie in wait for us there. Therefore, the study of this medium and the prognostication of its states are fundamental objectives of modern science. We must not only make space flights as safe as possible, but also preclude their long-term effects, genetic, for example, on cosmonauts' health.

The information we have to date gives us no grounds for suspecting that those who have been in space, or their posterity, are threatened with any genetic mutations. We cannot as yet look many generations ahead, but as far as the first generation of both Soviet cosmonauts and American astronauts is concerned, no deviations from normal have been observed. Moreover, no mutations have been traced in the numerous progeny of various biological objects taken into space, which goes to show that space flights are genetically safe.

This attention to the problem has not diminished, and a well thought-out comprehensive biological research programme is being carried out. Sometimes we are asked: "what's the use of biological experiments now that cosmonauts stay up for so long?" My answer to that is that our knowledge is still limited, and research must go on. We launch biological satellites every two years. Before the advent of cosmonautics, we carried out space experiments intended not only to ascertain the effect of outer space on living organisms, but to insure the safety of future manned flights.

Does that mean that we are already familiar with main obstacles in the way of manned space travel?

We do not rule out the possibility of there being factors beyond the confines of our knowledge to date. The strategy and tactics of space exploration should be based on a gradual, careful and scientifically substantiated advance. This is a field of activity which offers no 100 per cent guarantees – but what field does?

Today scientists have a clear enough idea of the way a cosmonaut feels back on the earth after a "marathon" flight. More than 200 cosmonauts have been in space to date. Even after a comparatively short stay there the spaceman seems to have forgotten all about the sensation of gravity he has lived with since birth. He feels the weight of his tongue, hands, clothes, and moves with effort.

Paradoxically, the problem is to prevent man from fully adapting to space, from becoming a "space dweller." Getting used to zero gravity involves changes in all the physiological systems of the organism: the muscles shrink, the volume of blood in circulation decreases, metabolic processes alter, etc. The most important thing for the cosmonaut is that he should not become estranged from the earth, not to get too used to space and lose the skills required to live on earth.

Interviewer
MARINA SHAKINA

Drawing by Bred Holland. Reproduced from The Atlantic magazine (U.S.A.).

Olzhas Suleimenov:

Patriotism is not national exclusiveness

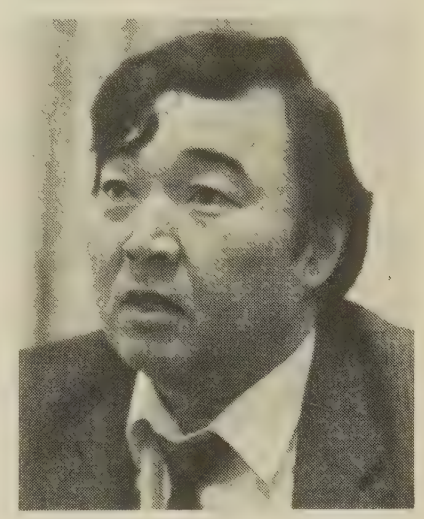
A DISTINGUISHED SOVIET POET REFLECTS ON INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS AND CULTURAL PROBLEMS IN OUR COUNTRY.

Whatever we start talking about today, we come back to history, to the basis of our self-awareness. It is no accident that, in developing the conceptual framework of our thinking, we become aware of the need to examine a given phenomenon solely in the context of the nation's history. And the nation's history should, in turn, be viewed in the context of world history. Attempts to isolate one's past and sever links with it have halted the cultural development of many generations, social classes and, consequently, of peoples.

While writing a book, a writer forms his own notions of patriotism and freedom, both individual and national. And this is quite correct, for it is impossible and even dangerous to impose a single formula by decree on everybody. Otherwise an erroneous formula might be made the official one.

At first glance, it seems relatively simple to teach someone to love his country. After all, we learn love for our country at our mother's knee. But this is only at first glance, because in a state comprising over a hundred ethnic groups, each particular form of patriotism could lead us all into a blind alley. Hence the ongoing dialogue where a multitude of conceptions are harmonized, opposed, and intertwined with one another. The extremely difficult, indeed dramatic process of producing a supranational conception and, in so doing, moulding a society's intellectual profile. This job is particularly timely before and during the 19th Party Conference. This process cannot be halted. Everyone must go through the entire alphabet from "A" to "Z", the Russian equivalent of which is "I". But it depends on all of us whether the word "I" is pronounced calmly and wisely or proudly and arrogantly.

We are not endowed with self-awareness either from the top or from the bottom. Its development is a long and painful process. But it is unquestionably controllable. Shouting seems to be natural after decades and - for some people - centuries of silence. Yes, our voices are still untrained. They drown out in whispers, break into whistles or growls. We



imagine that we are singing, but actually we are shouting. We still yell, but already we are showing signs of blending into a chorus. We are beginning to listen to one another, to bring our voices into harmony. A democratic bel canto glasnost cannot be achieved all at once. After a long silence, our voices are stil hoarse and out of practice.

N.T. Speaking of shouting, what do you think about the events in Alma Ata last year?

O.S. I would call them an echo from the past, a consequence of former authoritarianism as well as a painful and incompetent manifestation of a democratic process. Gone are the times of orators accustomed to singing arias about eternal friendship among the peoples from the rostrums to silent audiences without pausing to reflect that they neither heard nor, for that matter, wanted to hear anybody but themselves. Fantastic specializations appeared, for example, professional internationalists. Of course, one can make love a profession, but can one be a professional friend? Such multidimensional concepts as patriotism and internationalism were used simplistically by career-seeking officialdom to promote its own goals. Some people were promoted and rewarded for "all quiet" reports peddled as the real thing. It is just this atmosphere that gave rise to past events.

N.T. If we carefully analyse the history of our country, its cultural traditions and even its cultural revolution, we can see that genuine internationalism is, indeed, a multidimensional phenomenon with its own predominant keynote. In one of your books you described yourself as a bilingual writer. This is apparently more than a mere fact of your biography, but something to do with the historical memory of the Soviet people.

O.S. Russian has very properly become the language of economic and political integration. It is a language of great culture and, therefore, its charm can lead, in some regions, to the gradual loss of interest in one's mother tongue and the slowing down of its development. Just think of it, even Ukrainian literature is now losing some of its readers. Rasul Gamzatov writes in Avar. And what is Avar literature in the world catalogue? A drop in a great ocean, a small link in a great chain of interaction. But should the "drop" evaporate, the ocean will sooner or later feel it. Such developoments should be examined today through a microscope rather than a pair of opera glasses. Each tiny cell is important.

Here is another example. In the late 1930s, Korean communities were resettled from the Far East to Kazakhstan. And, unfortunately, many Koreans have now almost forgotten their own language. A Korean literature section was recently established in the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan. I am sure that a single printing-press with Korean type could save the literature of a whole people. The feelings of 389 thousand people should be important even to our nearly 300-million strong nation. And they are, even physiologically, biologically, if you like. But if we use opera glasses, we may lose sight of a whole people, not to speak of a literature. We should be more discerning. We should learn to feel other people's pain, and only then can we be aware of our own. I recently heard a truly mature idea from the poet and artist Dzhuna Davitashvili: a gift of memory is a gift of compassion. And this is not a pretext for delving into the past in search of excuses for the present hostility between people and peoples, not for the revival of old grievances, but for compassion.

Indeed, as soon as we start drawing up a list of the age-old wrongs suffered by our people and, still worse, prolonging them into the present, the dialogue will fizzle out. The experience of Russian attitudes to history is invaluable in this respect, and contemporary Russian writers should have a great sense of responsibility to other peoples. Their attitude to the past is a tuning fork to which others will be attuned. Will their interpretation be

qualitatively progressive, or will it assume a hysteric tinge? How important it is that the dialogue about the past should be dignified, that the world view of medieval chronicles should not be extended into the present, and that there should be no sudden bridging of the gap between the present reality and the distant past.

N.T. Experience shows that we often examine present developments from the standpoint of the past.

O.S. Unfortuantely. I wonder how two Moscow schoolboys, the Russian Vasya and the Tartar Akhmed, feel about each other when, sitting together at the same desk, they see in their school reader: "The sword will swish, the horse will neigh, the Tartar's head will roll away." What will they think of each other if from their early days we imbue them with the idea of eternal hatred between peoples, and overdramatize it? And we have nothing with which to counterbalance these vivid images, except slogans about our present friendship. Of course, we must tell the whole truth, but we should treat the past less dramatically, with more understanding. Look at the way the French portray their history. They do it with a smile. The sombre Nazi historians romanticized the German past and educated the young in the spirit of the gloomy Teutonic Middle Ages. Resentment and hatred for Slavs were fostered for decades, indeed for centuries. The result of all this is still fresh in the memories of Slavs and non-Slavs alike.

It is essential to show the poles of history, to remember that we are older and wiser than our ancestors. Is Demis Roussos, for instance, guilty of Plato's errors? And, frankly, he won't grind his teeth over the Greek defeat in the Battle of Thermopylae. Those were different Greeks and different Persians. Why project onto oneself the world view of ancient historians, with all the limitations of their time? After all, they did not view those distant events in the context of modern history. We have no right to transfer the bare facts of the past to the present and, in so doing, recast old wrongs as present-day sufferings, the sufferings of a whole nation, which is now a member of a great family of peoples, a republic in a multinational country.

N.T. Multinationality is not yet internationality. The territorial unity of as many as a hundred nations is merely one of the conditions for the emergence of internationalism...

O.S. Yes, internationalism is a product rather than a mechanical sum. For instance, as many nationalities are represented at Ford plants as at our enterprises. But it would be wrong to assume that the former are an international commnity. Our society has produced a different intellectual interpretation of the mental state which can alone enable the peoples of the world to think of themselves as MANKIND. Then the world will survive and live forever.

N.T. In an interview you once used a curious phrase: to transform religion into a science. Was it not a slip of the tongue? Maybe you meant certain sciences were so petrified in their development that they have become religious dogmas? Could you clarify that point?

O.S. I'll try. How did religion come into being? Once the cleverest member of a tribe looked into the sky and said: "The Sun is a flat circle." And everybody believed him. Believing is easier than finding out. The first fruit of learning was memorized by rote and became a dogma, an eternal truth. The doubters surpassed their teachers. They were burned at the stake and beheaded, but finally mankind had to recognize the obvious: the Sun is a sphere and the Earth is not flat.

The worst that can happen to science is that it should become a religion. Marx used three sources to develop his theory of scientific communism: German phiolosophy, English political economy and Utopian socialism. Since then the world has made enormous headway, but in our textbooks socialism still rests on three whales. Now we are trying to make up for lost time, realizing that socialism is a continuously developing structure. Therefore, three sources are not sufficient. Moreover, philosophy and political economy have progressed while Utopias are becoming outdated.

It is the essence of Marxist dialectics that in creating a new world we had to finish the job and more than once start from scratch. But it would be wrong to paint the past of our country all black.

Looking back at the Soviet people's record, we can see for ourselves that it took us an extremely short period of time to do what took others centuries. Using the most complex material of extremely diverse Russian social structures, the masses demonstrated dynamic creativity and elaborated the principles and norms of a future socialist tenor of life.

It should be remembered that our principal slogan - "No to the exploitation of man by man" - retains its humane force as the goal of all societies. The appeal to proletarians of all countrries to unite in the fight against the bourgeoisie was proclaimed by Marx and Engels, who dreamed of a world revolution. They believed that socialism could not triumph in a single country encircled by capitalist states, and, as is well known, this thesis of Marxism was defined with more precision by Lenin, who opposed Trotsky's idea of a permanent revolution.

N.T. Roughly speaking, there are two leading supraethnic structures in the world today, capitalist-based and socialist-based. The differences are ideological. Having once realized it, we have mechanically extended ideology to the economy, thereby slowing down socialist production...

O.S. Yes, patriotic methods were applied "not without success" not only to social but also to the exact sciences. For instance, to genetics. And now, as a result, we attribute all our setbacks in agriculture to inclement weather.

A vulgar sociological approach also affected developments in physics. In the late 1940s cybernetics was declared a bourgeois science. And we really believed then that there is socialist chemistry and capitalist chemistry. There are proletarian sciences in addition to, and in spite of, bourgeois ones. This non-acceptance of elementary things and the simplistic distinction of everything into "ours" and "not ours" have brought about a situation where a country with a large population and with no dearth of talent is far from being in the lead in computerization. Add to this the still abundant manual work, and tender female hands banging away on construction jobs or rolling asphalt on the roads. Yet someone showed "patriotism" in rejecting what is "not ours." And, as a result, our young people covet foreign-made rags, and it would be silly to accuse them of antipatriotism. No hysterics, no incantations about mine being the world's best, but making without excessive verbiage what is indeed the world's best - that is my idea of patriotism.

N.T. In other words, freedom and glasnost imply economic freedom as well?

O.S. They are inseparable. A narrow-minded ethnic patriotism is impossible in such conditions. It loses its economic foundation. If we say that socialism is a higher stage of social development, let us look at these developments from above, without condescension. Borrowing the best and applying it to our life will indeed be a socialist, businesslike and Party approach. In the final analysis, it is also patriotic because it will improve the quality of life.

It would not be amiss to say that every writer is now writing his main book. The end of the 20th century is drawing near, and it is high time we summed up the country's record. We know much, but we want to know still more. We want to store up this knowledge in order to apply it later. To do so properly we must know the diametrically opposite views of the peoples, of every member of our society, know every formulation of burning issues and every possibility of solving them.

The main books are oriented towards the young, who will complete the work of the century which has required great sacrifices. And it is our duty to readers that our books should not be trivial. We should help the reader assume a proper attitude to the great developments currently taking place in our country. To be equal to present-day tasks? No, to be always equal to the tasks ahead!

Interviewer:
MIKHAIL BEKETOV

What kind of socialism are they mourning?

Professor ANATOLY BUTENKO

The Soviet people are learning democracy. Differences of opinion are becoming commonplace. In the pre-glasnost years of stagnation, Soviet society was not a living organism, characterized by the rich variety of heterogeneous interests and aspirations of its constituent social groups. Rather, it resembled an iceberg, with all the once buoyant vital currents and different social tendencies frozen rigid. The warm spring winds that started to blow in April 1985 are thawing the ice into turbulent streams. But as always happens in the early-spring flood season, the spate is carrying not only the fragments of the old structures it has swept away, but garbage and scum as well.

Those who, confined to their bureaucratic shells, ignore the social changes and contrasts brought about by the renascence, who hope that the spring of renewal which has come to Soviet soil in the shape of revolutionary perestroika is nothing but so much hot air - these people are amazed and terrified at the sight of the ever widening mighty stream of social forces and currents, of the life-giving thaw. Frightened by this sight, they would rather have neither April nor the spring of renewal.

When analyzing the situation in Soviet society today, it is important to ascertain what perestroika has to offer, what forces it has unleashed, who is for it and who is against.

"We say," Mikhail Gorbachev told the February plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, "that we support and shall continue to support what benefits socialism, and that we reject and shall continue to reject all that is prejudicial to our national interests. We see that some people are confused and suspect us of departing from the positions of socialism, especially by introducing new and unaccustomed economic and social practices; they claim that we revise the very teaching of Marxism-Leninism. In fact, there have already appeared 'defenders' of Marxism-Leninism in mourning for socialism, believing as they do that both are at risk."

The mourners' "manifesto"

Our newspapers offer a chance to speak out to all who really seek to understand what's going on and tune in to the spirit of the times. In this healthily controversial discussion, the voices of those who object to the changes and doubt their wholesomeness (as, for example, N. Andreyeva's article "There Is No Betraying Our Principles" carried by the newspaper Sovetskaya Rossia) strike a discordant note. It is quite obvious to me that the views the article sets forth are not its author's alone. It is clearly meant as a political declaration and as such has had widespread repercussions. I regard this article as a blessing in disguise: the adherents of the views it expresses have finally shown their true colours, though not without camouflaging some of the more substantial flaws in their position. Let's not be too severe on them, however: many people today are posing as champions of perestroika. But no amount of whitewash can conceal what has become tarnished, darkened and obsolete. This calls for serious discussion.

Before we examine the content of this manifesto of the mourners for socialism, let us try and place them in the socio-political context of contemporary Soviet society.

The Communist Party is now mobilizing the Soviet working people to an uncompromising struggle against objectionable social practices, such as bureaucracy and the system of management by injunction, and against socio-economic stagnation. Today there is a wide spectrum of views in the Soviet Union on the policy of perestroika and the revolutionary reforms it stands for.

Those working for perestroika are in the majority today. The standard-bearers of perestroika realize that without radical reforms socialism will not hold out either at home, or in the international arena. It is clear to them that without transferring full powers of government to the working people themselves, and without guaranteed compliance with their will under all circumstances - which presupposes the scrapping of the command system of management - real socialism and its steady and irreversible advance are out of the question. Many are all for perestroika but stop short of radical reforms, thus underestimating the vital need for universal guarantees of genuine people's rule.

However, a considerable proportion of the public is still in two minds about perestroika; on the one hand, people welcome its slogans and aims but, on the other, they doubt its feasibility, failing to believe that "the powers that be" will be prepared to step down from their high places,and draw the practical conclusion that there is no hurry as those who are too precipitate are riding for a fall.

The fighters for perestroika are opposed by the determined advocates of the old order of things and anti-perestroika forces, which still regard Stalin as their uncon-

tested leader and mentor. They turn a blind eye to illegality and mass repression, and the absence of glasnost and democracy, and doggedly persist in calling the old system "true socialism." They prefer to leave well alone. It is their firm conviction that the government must rule with an iron hand, lest irreversible changes occur and all ideals are eroded. These diehard conservatives, whose ranks have thinned, are joining forces with "moderates" who, already compelled by facts to admit Stalin's "errors and aberrations" and, consequently, the need for perestroika, advise caution in critisizing the past, readjustment rather than the complete restructuring of the former system and declare against "shaking socialist ideals loose." The way they see it, power should remain in the same hands while assuming a more modern, respectable and democratic form.

There are extreme cases, too. Some are impatient and expect perestroika to work miracles overnight; others see revolutionary perestroika as the dismantling of the socialist system. They claim that our people have been on a wrong track for decades, and that what we are doing now will get us nowhere, and suggest alternatives from the arsenal of bourgeois liberalism and nationalism.

It goes without saying that these categories should not be made hard and fast - not only because there are "middle-of-the-road" transitional compromise trends, but also for the reason that in reality few social groups remain stationary and stuck in the same groove definitively; far from it, they are in constant motion, merging, breaking apart, changing sympathies and attitudes. Still, I think the above differentiation of forces and their positions is not altogether groundless, and could be of help in assessing the overall situation.

A positive programme? None

Where do the "mourners for socialism" belong in this pattern?

Their stand is distinguished by the want of a positive programme. The programme of perestroika to which they pay lip-service is not really theirs because they reject outright the perestroika-related changes already in progress. This want of a positive programme is in fact a point of view. What the "mourners for socialism" are actually clamouring for is not socialism (it is in no need of mourning) but the travesty of socialism with which the concepts and views they uphold are inseparably linked, but which has discredited itself to the extent of rendering open advocacy of it impossible.

They reject the radical changes associated with perestroika on the grounds that certain people are showing increasingly pronounced nihilistic tendencies, falling into ideological confusion, reassessing their political values and even becoming ideologically "omnivorous." The blame for all this is not laid on those who deformed socialism, led Soviet society to stagnation and pushed it to the brink of crisis. On the contrary, the accusing finger is being pointed at those who are criticizing Stalinist distortions and seeking a way out of stagnation, because such critics, we are told, "are eroding the criteria of scientific ideology under the pretext of moral and spiritual 'purification,' manipulating glasnost, and cultivating anti-socialist pluralism, which objectively hinders perestroika in the minds of the public." Sounds familiar, doesn't it? Attacks on the process of "purification" have already been made, and talk of glasnost being "manipulated" has been heard before.

The absence of a positive programme is compensated for by the repeated emphasis on the importance of a "class approach" and, indeed, by the revival of the notorious Stalinist concept of class struggle under socialism, because, as the author of the above-mentioned article contends, "far from all the living descendants of the classes overthrown by the October Revolution have been able to forget the material and social privileges lost by their forefathers." But these descendants will have offspring of their own.

What do the "mourners for socialism" want? They want others to stop criticizing the past or, in other words, to let things carry on as before.

It is surprising how insistently they are trying to discredit the views of those who are criticizing Stalin, and what efforts they are making to this end, including the quotation of dubious admissions allegedly made by Churchill about his "fear" of Stalin. Today it is impossible to assert that Stalin was not guilty of his crimes, that he did not know about them or was not an accessory to them. This explains why rejection of criticism of Stalin is being replaced by rejection of the forms this criticism takes.

The Soviet public today has therefore every reason to criticize Stalin and reject many of his views and actions. The point is that the reforms embracing all spheres of our life on an increasingly wider scale and involving ever broader sections of the public require a clear answer to the question: what aspects of life should be reformed and why?

The "mourners for socialism" are unable to give a correct answer to this question, and there is nothing surprising about that. It seems that they themselves would like to pass over the painful problems in our history in silence and pretend that nothing special happened.

Their understanding of the current reforms proceeds from just such an evaluation of the past. Of course, they would like to see perestroika, which they do not reject, as a facelifting, the refurbishing of the facade, so to speak, a sort of readjustment of the present mechanism which operates more or less tolerably. But there is no need to build a new mechanism because no one knows what would come of it.

The point is, however, that such an understanding of the past and the current reforms is very different from what is necessary for our society and is, consequently, an obstacle to the revolutionary changes in our country.

Replying to those who would like to make believe that "nothing special happened" in this country under Stalin, Mikhail Gorbachev said in his report on November 2, 1987: "We cannot agree to this. This would be disregard for the historical truth, disrespect for the memory of the innocent victims of lawlessness and arbitrariness. Another reason why we cannot agree to this is that a truthful analysis must help us solve today's problems of democratization, legality, glasnost and overcoming bureaucracy, in short, the vital problems of perestroika. That is why here too we have to be quite precise and consistent."

In the context of perestroika, the public exposition of one or other understanding of the Soviet past is not a private affair but open agitation for certain things to be done. That we turn to our history is dictated not merely by interest in the past. A critical review of the past is also vital to our practical work in implementing revolutionary changes. Having proclaimed the slogan "more socialism," we must determine what values and principles should today be regarded as truly socialist and what should not.

The principles of socialism are far more substantial than a facelifting or the refurbishing of the facade. To find the right answer to this question, we should make a profound study of our history, its values and principles, and of how they have been tested in practice.

Is the past over?

What happened in our society under Stalin and later, and why is it so necessary today to reexamine values and principles alike?

The fact is that in the late 1920s and early 1930s Lenin's concept of socialism was replaced by Stalin's vision of socialism. Stalin understood the building of socialism as the transfer of all means of

production in industry to the state and the total collectivization of peasant households. He believed that not only state compulsion but mass repression and arbitrary rule were quite in order to achieve this goal.

In the 1930s, Soviet society underwent radical changes. Private ownership was abolished, and backward Russia was industrialized. Thousands of plants and factories went up, and collective and state farms were formed. The exploiter class of capitalists disappeared, as did capitalism itself. Pointing to these achievements, Stalin said: this is socialism. However, what was not initially realized became clearer with the further advance of Soviet society: living without capitalists does not at all mean living under socialism.

Stalin imposed his vision of socialism on the party and the government bodies. Relying on them and organizing the daily work of the people along these lines, Stalin succeeded in implementing his idea of socialism. By the late 1930s, state-administrative socialism of the kind he envisaged had in the main been built, with the almost total socialization of the means of production and industrial potential, and rule by means of bureaucracy, mass repression and terror, without even elementary democracy and glasnost. These features of the regime were in many respects reminiscent of the model of "barracks-type socialism" criticized by Marx.

Revolution without an analogue

We are confronted with an extraordinary task in the course of perestroika: the transformation of state-administrative socialism with its bureaucratic apparatus inherited from preceding decades of historical development, into genuine socialism of the type envisaged by Lenin. A qualitative transformation of this kind, whose basic features - confrontation, opposing forces and essential changes in political power and the economic system are indeed revolutionary - differs completely from previous revolutions and has no analogue in history.

In this lies the unusual character of perestroika, which frightens many people, and this explains why some have lost their bearings and are trying without success to find their place in the current reforms. This also explains why some people are beginning to "mourn for socialism," claiming that it is being destroyed. Dogmatic and bureaucratic socialism is indeed being destroyed.

In the course of perestroika, we are intervening in areas at times painful, which were deliberately "overlooked" in the past. Moreover, not a few paradoxical difficulties such as "eruptions" of nationalism or even anti-socialist manifestations are arising in the process of change.

Of course, Marxists-Leninists, taking a principled stand, must reject erroneous views and concepts, especially those alien to socialism. But in carrying on this struggle, we see where the greatest danger lies. Today, when perestroika is only developing, the main danger is represented by conservatism, which is seeking to reverse the course of events.

"But it would be a mistake to take no notice of a certain increase in the resistance of the conservative forces that see perestroika simply as a threat to their selfish interests and objectives," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his report on November 2, 1987. "This resistance can be felt not only at managerial level but also in work collectives. Nor can one really doubt that the conservative forces will seize upon any difficulty in a bid to discredit perestroika and provoke dissatisfaction among the people."

When the avowed opponents of progressive changes lose their positions and quit the historical scene, they are replaced by gradualists who are fonder of gradualism than of progress as such. Their own programme has, first of all, a protective aim. Their primary concern is to beware of any unforeseen circumstances. They are preoccupied with cataloguing the difficulties and contradictions of perestroika, scaring and holding back those who are steadfastly advancing along the path of radical change.
March 1988

Time to act

After reading an interview with Professor Nikolai Shmelyov in your issue No. 50, 1987, I - a former state farm accountant - heaved a sigh of relief. Nikolai Shmelyov offers sensible advice on how to develop our economy under present-day conditions. Well-argued recommendations are given on how to step up production efficiency, what road to take next, and which factors are to predominate in the perestroika period.

And now, the letter, "More about money" by A. Ryabov, Cand. Sc. (Hist.), in your issue No. 5, 1988. I read and reread it, but was unable to grasp the author's meaning, hard as I tried... He writes that he "was perplexed" by Shmelyov's conclusions. What was it that made Ryabov think so? The point is that in Shmelyov's model "market forces would play a substantial role." This, you see, is unacceptable in our society and does not guarantee our working people social protection. Ryabov is outraged by the suggestion that enterprises should sell shares to private individuals, for this could allegedly legalize unearned incomes. But Shmelyov is not in favour of the abolition of public ownership of the means of production, which guarantees social protection to all strata of society! He means those who, by virtue of their professions, belong to a higher income bracket (writers and poets, architects and designers, scientists, miners and builders). But aren't these people paid in accordance with the socialist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"? Besides, this innovation could put an end to black marketeering and rule out the production of goods nobody wants.

Ryabov is shocked by the phrase "what is effective is moral," interpreting it as a justification for illegal incomes. But it was just in a situation where the economic reforms suggested by Shmelyov were out of the question that profiteering, corruption and all sorts of machinations were common. I am certain that the issue of shares will enlist the public to financing production and make it more efficient. Members of the public will share in factory profits, and factories, for their part, will have greater funds at their disposal.

In conclusion, the author of the letter suggests that we should think twice before deciding which of the courses open to us to take. We can hardly afford this luxury. It's time now to act.

GRIGORY YERINEYEV
Chernovtsy Region

HUNGARY

Private investments in industry

VLADIMIR GERASIMOV

When Taurus Technical Rubber Goods Works of Budapest (9,500 employees) announced the sale of property share tickets, thus giving its personnel an opportunity to invest in the development of the enterprise and have a share in the profits, the offer kindled arguments and discussions. But gradually everything was straightened out.

Some people appeared to be at a loss. "Why," they said, "the factory won't pay me for my work, but wants a loan from me, so to say."

At the same time the quick-witted remarked: "It's better than keeping money in a savings bank. The interest on the property tickets is higher."

There were sceptics, too, who observed: "Won't this result in the unjustified enrichment of a few?"

The party, trade union and Young Communist League committees, the management and the works council believed that, if the employees invested their personal savings in the works, it would improve labour discipline and heighten responsibility and the sense of ownership. Though the financial structure gave rise to much controversy, there was one point on which unanimity was reached, namely that every worker should be personally interested in Taurus' increasing success. Thus, conscientious work meant higher profits for the works and higher interest on the personal money invested.

The factory buildings occupy a fairly large site. The walls and windows are dark with smoke and dust. Tyre, tube and hose manufacturing processes are not yet distinguished by their clinical cleanliness. At the moment, advanced automatic equipment is being installed, and factory departments are being modernized to manufacture products to world standards. The collective is coping with a whole range of problems. The first thing Ervin Szentes, head of the economic division, told me was that last year fluctuation in manpower was finally eliminated. Now that the labour situation is stable, the highly skilled core is playing a bigger role and displaying more initiative.

In 1987 the management, the works council on which all categories of employees are represented, and public organizations decided that everyone working at Taurus could buy from 5,000 to 100,000 forints' worth of property tickets. It was the YCL organization that set the ceiling at 100,000 forints. This year, however the ceiling has been raised to 200,000 forints. Proceeding from prices and earnings, this is approximately equivalent to 4,000-8,000 rubles.

It should be mentioned that the state passed a resolution fixing the ceiling on such securities. The overall sum should not exceed 50 per cent of the capital invested in a given enterprise.

The works contributes a further 30 per cent for each sum invested. "For instance," Ervin Szentes explained, "if a worker invests 10,000 forints, i.e., buys two property tickets, all calculations will be based on 13,000 forints. This is just another economic incentive factor. The interest and dividends on the profits made by the works will accrue from the sum of 13,000 forints."

Ervin Szentes then went into the details of payments from the tickets. Last year Taurus guaranteed an interest of seven per cent. This rate is higher than that offered by the savings bank. But the works netted higher profits than it had planned. So the works decided to add 6.3 per cent to the guaranteed rate, i.e., 13.3 per cent. Now, since the works had added 3,000 forints to the 10,000, the actual interest on the two property tickets was 17.2 per cent.

Property tickets issued by Taurus are sold only to full-time employees who have worked at the factory for at least a year. A worker who has been called up for military service can buy them too. Women workers on maternity leave, students on preparatory courses and at vocational schools, and workers on missions abroad also enjoy this right. If a worker leaves the factory, he is obliged to sell back his shares at their face value. If an employee retires, he can withdraw the money he has invested. But he is also entitled to the 30 per cent Taurus added to his sum. However, if a pensioner wishes, he can continue to receive the guaranteed interest on his securities.

"How many people purchased property tickets last year?" I inquired.

"Fifteen hundred."

"And this year?"

"We don't know exactly yet. But we can see that the figure is much higher than last year."

"How much did you collect in 1987?"

"Thirty two million forints."

"What did you spend the money on?"

"Introducing new processes."

Taking a factory newspaper from his desk, Ervin Szentes said: "Take a look at this. The article is by Ilona Tatai, our general manager. She is also a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. She writes that we need more investments to make our goods structure more profitable. We have been operating on the basis of self-financing for a long time. Money loaned by our employees to the enterprise would help to develop it. If the profits reach the planned level, the dividends will amount to 20 per cent this year. But we have to work hard to achieve this."

In addition to property tickets, Taurus also introduced interest tickets last year. Every employee gets them automatically, depending on the number of years he or she has worked, 500 forints a year. If he or she has worked for ten years, this adds up to 5,000 forints, with the dividend rate calculated accordingly. Last year interest on profits amounted to 6.3 per cent. The value of the interest ticket, which is deposited in the enterprise's bank has increased by that amount.

Flexible pipes for deep drilling turned out by the Taurus Technical Rubber Goods Works.

Enterprises and local councils were permitted to issue bonds as far back as 1982. These securities are not "raffle tickets." They entitle the holder only to interest. If money is needed for some useful project or promising investment, it can be drawn not only from the state budget or bank in the form of a loan, but also from the sale of such securities on the market. When I visited the National Planning Office of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, I was told that various bodies had issued 200 types of bond to an overall sum of close on 27 billion forints. Two thirds of these securities have been purchased by the population.

Here are a few examples. The city authorities at Szeged sold municipal bonds to those who wished to install a telephone. They undertook to install it within three years, guaranteeing interest at seven per cent a year on the money invested in the bonds. Not only individuals, but also economic organizations could purchase these bonds. A trading firm operating in Pest region offered bonds pledging interest of from nine to 13 per cent per annum, depening on the profits of a new chain of rural stores.

Before bonds are issued, the banks carefully study the financial position of the enterprise or local council floating the loan. In Hungary there has not been a single case when an issuer of bonds failed to meet its financial commitments. It should be mentioned that until January 1, 1988, the bonds were guaranteed by the state.

Commenting on this Laszlo Antal, leading financier of the National Planning Office, said: "According to the newly introduced rules, enterprises and local councils do not have to request the permission of the Ministry of Finance to ussue securities. However, neither does the state underwrite the loans. It is true that to promote the sale of their bonds, profit-making factories, plants, cooperatives and institutes can get the banks to underwrite them. Low-profit enterprises may not secure a bank guarantee at all or may have to pay a rather high price for it. In this way the bank concerned insures itself against losses.

At the same time, state budgetary agencies will issue treasury notes and guarantee them, of course. Such notes are bought back within a term of from two to twelve months. In this case the rate of interest offered by the bank is from 13 to 16 per cent a year.

By selling treasury notes to the population and enterprises, the state will thus withdraw ready money from circulation, and by buying them back it will increase the amount of money in circulation. Thus, a socialist state acquires yet another lever which it can use to influence investments and consumption.

In explaining the effect of securities on the economics of an enterprise, Laszlo Antal used the term "exchange." However, he pointed out that people like him tried to avoid using it too often, as it could give rise to talk of Hungary employing capitalist methods.

Many people seem to be aware of the fact that profit, credit, interest, market and other economic factors and levers should be inherent in socialism, as commodity production and money are characteristic of it. Western journalists are constantly accusing Hungary of resorting to capitalist methods, simply because it uses these economic factors. Hungarian economists rightly believe that if the promotion of commodity-money relations helps achieve a degree of social and economic balance, it is necessary, correspondingly, organically to combine socialist ideological values with a socialist market economy.

Since a securities market has appeared, there must also be an exchange.

"Once a fortnight," Laszlo Antal went on to say, "financial experts at banks and enterprises get together to quote the prices of the securities on the market, exchange information on the current securities rate and register the transactions."

The securities boom has been accompanied by wider publicity with respect to the performance of enterprises. Industries that sell their securities on the market must persuade buyers that commitments will be promptly met and that the proposed investments are important for the national economy as well as profitable.

"Assessing a factory's performance on the basis of a balance sheet is unreliable," Laszlo Antal went on. "It does not give an authentic picture, because it disregards the human factor, the collective's spirit of enterprise, its capacity to work for a long-term target even in the face of formidable difficulties and put forward interesting ideas. But the securities market will tell you exactly what you are worth, what your initiatives are worth and whether or not you can be trusted."

The policy of self-financing has enabled one enterprise to loan money to another. As a result, promissory notes have appeared. Joint-stock companies, banks and funds have taken shape. Many of them are searching for new products that need to be manufactured and profitably realized in the sphere of trade. The country is working on a law that would permit the establishment of joint-stock associations of state and cooperative enterprises with private firms.

Hungary is beset with difficulties. Having exposed its national economy to rising and falling tides, as well as to the storms of the world market, it is seeking to make its products more competitive, expand its export to pay off its foreign debts, and quickly retool its industries. Hungary is encouraging its more profitable industries with the intention of closing down unprofitable enterprises. The problem of non-profitability should be neither played down nor dramatized.

Hungary is not in the grip of an economic crisis. Last year its national income increased by 2.5 per cent, industrial output by 3.7 per cent, and export by 7 per cent, mainly in terms of dollars. Nor is Hungary beset with political crisis. The economic reform is making headway. One effective measure for surmounting the difficulties is the expanding sphere of operations of the forint, while another is the growing material interest in the development of social production.

Budapest

TASS photo

Today there are two approaches to a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. One of them is holding an international conference with the participation of the Security Council permanent members and all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. The other has become known as the Camp David deal.

The Palestinians cannot be brought to their knees.

The Camp David temptation

YURI SEDOV

At the presidential retreat Camp David, nearly ten years ago, the United States, Israel and Egypt worked out agreements envisaging not a comprehensive and just settlement in the Middle East but the conclusion of separate treaties between the aggressor and his victims. At the beginning of March and April, Secretary of State George Shultz visited some Middle East capitals in a bid to impose on the Arabs his own "new" plan for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The plan brings to mind the events of ten years ago and the Camp David deal, which led to the signing of a separate "peace treaty" between Israel and Egypt. At the time the treaty was proclaimed by its supporters as heralding an age of peace in the Middle East. But, in fact, it has resulted in new aggressive actions by Israel against the Arab peoples, in a further exacerbation of the Middle East conflict.

Washington's scenario

The events of the past decade have clearly demonstrated the futility of any attempt to deal with the problems of the Middle East by imposing separate deals with Israel on the Arabs. However, the Camp David scheme continues to remain the pivotal element of Washington's Middle East policy.

In spite of the fact that the Camp David deal is officially known as an Egyptian-Israeli treaty, the United States played a key part in concluding it. Washington began to prepare for it immediately after the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. It could not but notice that the new President, Anwar Sadat, began to show the tendency towards conciliation with the United States and departure from cooperation with the Soviet Union. President Sadat declared on several occasions that the key to settling the Middle East conflict was held by the United States.

What guided the Egyptian president when he started hostilities against Israel in October 1973? His true objectives became clear in later years. He thought of the war as a limited action to break the deadlock and make it possible to enter into talks with Israel. In his reminiscences one of the architects of Camp David, Henry Kissinger, acknowledges that President Sadat did not expect it to lead to military success. His goal was to prepare the ground for talks. According to Dr Kissinger, the idea was suggested to President Sadat in the course of secret negotiations with the Americans.

Taking into account Israel's massive military superiority over the Arabs, Henry Kissinger devised the following hypothetical line of action, which was on the whole implemented. The idea was to rely on Egypt's limited military action to unlock the situation under U.S. supervision and create conditions, at no expense to Israel, under which President Sadat could accept a separate deal without losing face.

The war of October 1973 made a telling contribution to the Arab struggle against the Israeli aggressor, but this was in spite of Sadat's efforts rather than because of them. The Israeli army suffered unprecedented losses. It also lost its reputation for invincibility.

The outcome of the October war on the whole opened up the prospects for a negotiated settlement of the Middle East conflict that emerged at the Geneva peace conference held in December 1973 under the auspices of the U.N. The United States and Israel torpedoed the conference almost as soon as it began. Washington looked on the conference as a means of bringing all the parties concerned together so as to get separate negotiations between Israel and each Arab nation off the ground. The United States used the conference to begin its step-by-step policy. In January 1974 and September 1975, the first and second agreements on the disengagement of Egyptian and Israeli troops were signed. Separate diplomatic efforts supervised by the United States reinforced the anti-Soviet direction of Cairo's policy. In March 1976, President Sadat broke off the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Egypt. President Sadat's "reformist" social and economic policy

also paved the way for Camp David. Washington gave full support to his open door policy (infitah), which gave foreign capital a free hand in Egypt and made the Egyptian economy and policy dependent on the United States. Writing at the time, the well-known Egyptian journalist Muhammad Heikal pointed to a direct link between the open door policy and President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November 1977.

The Israeli Premier Menachem Begin, who led the ultra-right-wing Likud coalition when it came to power in May 1977, proved an optimal partner for President Sadat in conducting separate diplomacy. The goal of the Israeli Premier, who held extremist Zionist views, and his associates was to annex the West Bank Jordan as "the historic home of the Jews" (the Likud refers to it as Judea and Samaria), thus taking another step towards establishing "greater Israel." Premier Begin believed that the chances of neutralizing Egypt were fairly good, as he felt he could bargain with it over the Sinai Peninsula without foregoing the ultimate goal of annexing Judea and Samaria. A compromise with Jordan was ruled out.

President Sadat at work

The United States and Israel very soon found that they had not been mistaken in relying on President Sadat. His pilgrimage to Jerusalem in November 1977 gave the separate deal a new lease of life. Later he tried to justify his journey by saying that it had been aimed at breaking the psychological barrier, although his prime goal was to prevent the Geneva conference from reopening. By that time, appropriate conditions for resuming the conference had been set out in the Soviet-American statement on the Middle East signed in October 1977. Neither President Sadat nor Premier Begin wanted to go to Geneva as they felt that the participation of the Soviet Union, Syria and Jordan could effectively tie their hands. President Sadat recalled in his reminiscences that the idea of a trip to Jerusalem was suggested to him by President Carter.

The trip improved Israel's chances of going ahead with its policy of annexation. In December 1977, Premier Begin advanced the idea of partial autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza in order to perpetuate the Israeli hold on these territories. Very soon his plan was given the go-ahead by Washington.

President Sadat would not accept the plan for as long as Sinai remained in Israeli hands. He also needed at least token progress on the Palestinian problem. That is how the outlines of a separate Egyptian-Israeli deal that betrayed Arabs' interests began to emerge.

President Sadat's "historic" trip to Jerusalem was viewed in Israel as one step towards Egypt's withdrawal from the Arab front. Premier Begin used these signs of change on the political scene in the Middle East to deliver a strike at the opponents of Tel Aviv's expansionist policies. In March 1978, the Israeli army invaded Lebanon in order to wipe out Palestine Resistance fighters and turn Southern Lebanon into an Israeli military and political bridgehead.

Taking advantage of this situation, the United States continued to steer President Sadat and Premier Begin towards a separate deal. Egypt made one concession after another, while Israel renounced none of its expansionist goals.

In a bid to speed up the official conclusion of the separate deal, a U.S.-sponsored meeting of President Carter, President Sadat and Premier Begin was arranged at Camp David in September 1978. The Camp David summit adopted two documents - "The Framework for Peace in the Middle East," which outlined a possible general settlement, and "The Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel," which outlined the terms of the separate deal. The first document was meant to guarantee a settlement of the Palestinian problem that would play into the hands of the United States and Israel through granting partial self-government to Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and enabling Israel to actually administer the territories. The second one served as the basis for the Egyptian-Israeli "peace treaty."

" The Framework for Peace" was aimed at camouflaging President Sadat's acceptance of the separate treaty. At the same time it provided Israel with a semblance of legitimacy on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. That was Israel's reward for withdrawing from Sinai and handing it over to Egypt. Former Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs Shlomo Avinery recalls that "Begin viewed Camp David as a unique chance to exchange Sinai for stronger Israeli control over the West Bank and Gaza." The return of Sinai was conditional on the demilitarization of the greater part of it, which considerably restricted Egyptian sovereignty over it.

Bogus autonomy

The anti-Arab nature of "The Framework for Peace" was demonstrated by the fact that it did not even mention the Palestinian right to self-determination. According to the document, the Palestinian problem was to be dealt with under Premier Begin's plan for autonomy, in keeping with which the Israeli occupation forces, far from leaving the West Bank and Gaza, were to be redeployed to strategically important sites. The Palestinian population were to be granted partial autonomy. The powers and credentials of the bodies administering that semblance of self-determination were to be approved by the occupation authorities, which retained control over the key issues of security and law and order.

These and other provisions running counter to Arab interests were incorporated in the Egyptian-Israeli treaty signed on March 26, 1979, in Washington. The ink was hardly dry on the treaty when Israel started implementing them. On May 21, 1979, the Knesset ruled that the Jewish settlements on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would remain under Israeli sovereignty, along with areas where Israeli troops were deployed, and that the

Camp David, September 1978 .
Sadat and Begin embrace with President Carter looking on: the deal has been concluded!

status of the rest of the territory would be determined after the completion of the five-year transitional period. Premier Begin went on to declare, however, that Israeli sovereignty would be extended to the entire West Bank after the transitional period. In September 1979, Israel passed a law permitting its citizens to buy plots of land in the occupied territories.

Israel began to encourage its citizens to settle in the occupied territories. The head of the World Zionist Organization's department of colonization, Matityahu Drobles, wrote at the time that the moment was right for Israel to go ahead with intensive colonization, especially in the highland areas of Judea and Samaria. According to him, the best way to hold on to Judea and Samaria was to increase the rate of colonization and expand the population of Jewish settlements in these regions.

By the mid-1980s, the occupation authorities aquired about 60 per cent of West Bank territory. The number of Jewish settlers there had grown dramatically.

Israel's drive for expansion received fresh impetus on July 30, 1980, when the Knesset passed what was termed a "fundamental law" proclaiming the whole of Jerusalem "the eternal and indivisible capital of the state of Israel."

In passing the law, the Israeli government trampled underfoot every resolution of the U.N. Security Council, which described the move as a gross violation of international law and declared it null and void. In the meantime, the occupation authorities brought more pressure to bear on the Palestinians in a bid to oust them from Jerusalem. More Jewish settlements were built around the eastern sector of the city and Jewish districts in the city continued to expand.

The Camp David deal gave the go-ahead to a permanent U.S. military presence in the region. The United States deployed a battalion of 12 hundred men in Sharm-el-Sheikh in Sinai as an outpost of the Rapid Deployment Force. The American troops get rotation orders every six months, which enables the Pentagon to train large numbers of troops in the conditions prevailing in the Middle East theatre of operations.

Having effectively secured its border with Egypt as a result of the Camp David deal and relying on Washington's support, Israel attacked Syrian troops in the spring of 1981 in Lebanon, where they were stationed under the auspices of the Arab League. In June 1981, in gross violation of international law, Israel sent its planes to raze to the ground a civilian nuclear research centre near Baghdad. In July 1981, the Israeli airforce bombed residential districts of Beirut.

However, the odds against the Israeli aggressor continued to increase. The policy mapped out at Camp David was deadlocked, as none of the Arab nations joined the separate process. Nor would the Arabs toe Washington's line, contrary to American expectations that eventually an anti-Soviet alliance would be set up in the Middle East on the basis of the rapprochement between Israel and Egypt. The intrigues of collaborators among the Palestinians also failed, while the position of the PLO continued to strengthen.

An Egyptian soldier on the east bank of the Suez Canal. In October 1973 the liberation of Sinai from Israeli invaders began.

In the circumstances, the Israeli government decided to launch another attack on the Palestine Resistance. In the summer of 1982, its troops invaded Lebanon on a large scale to wipe out Palestinian bases and decapitate the PLO.

In planning that act of aggression, Israel counted on the differences between the Arabs. The principal factor for divisions in the Arab world was the Camp David deal, as it removed Egypt, the largest and, economically and militarily, strongest Arab nation, from the Arab front. Under the terms of the Camp David deal, Egypt pledged not to intervene in the event of a conflict between Israel and any other Arab nation, regardless of who started it.

It was Camp David that gave the go-ahead to the Israeli intervention in Lebanon in 1982. One of the objectives of that intervention was to stimulate the Camp David process, that is, the policy of separate deals between Israel and individual Arab nations. A week after the Israeli invasion, the then Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared that Camp David was not dead. He said that he had reason to hope that the tragic events in Lebanon would create more opportunities for a revival of the peace process. Later, Mr Haig qualified that statement by saying that if the PLO could be liquidated as a military force, Saudi Arabia and Jordan would feel less restraint in joining Egypt in the Camp David peace process.

The same purpose was served by the Reagan plan advanced on September 1, 1982, largely on the lines of Camp David. Washington clearly wanted to isolate Syria, the PLO, and the Soviet Union from the process of settlement, and prevent the formation of an independent Palestinian state.

In May 1983, Washington and Tel Aviv managed to impose on Beirut the so-called Lebanese-Israeli peace agreement on terms that were clearly humiliating and unfair to Lebanon.But not for long. In March, 1984, the Lebanese cabinet reneged the agreement as resistance to the Israeli occupation and U.S. interference continued to gather momentum in the country.

The ten years that have passed since the signing of the Camp David treaty have shown beyond any doubt that the policy of separate deals has failed to bring a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East any nearer.

Washington's policy in the Middle East entered a deadlock precisely because it ignored the political realities of the region. The current Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories is a clear indication of that deadlock. In a bid to unlock its policy in the region, Washington is again trying to revive Camp David by palming it off as the Shultz plan. One of its main goals now is to stem the tide of the Palestinian uprising. Like the Camp David deal before it, the Shultz plan makes no mention of an independent Palestinian state or the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories. A large part of it deals instead with partial autonomy for the Palestinians, along Camp David lines, and separate talks. That the plan provides for shortening the transitional period somewhat does not essentially change it. The likelihood of more explosions in the Middle East will be the greater the more the United States tries to sell old the ideas in a new wrapper.

Photos
by AP-TASS

Nazi criminals must be punished

His name occasionally appears in the press. It was often mentioned during the trial of Klaus Barbie. The former Gestapo chief of Lyons would probably be enjoying life in Bolivia to this day had it not been for people like Serge Klarsfeld, who sought his extradition for years. Why has Klarsfeld made the tracking down and prosecution of nazi criminals his life's work? Is not this pursuit becoming unpopular? Below, Serge Klarsfeld is interviewed by New Times.

I think I am doing a useful work, Serge Klarsfeld said. Judging from the letters I receive and from press comments, it is appreciated by people who trust me. A Jew by birth, I went through the ordeals of the second world war, and my father died in a concentration camp. Therefore my words carry conviction.

N.T. You are pursuing nazis who have evaded punishment. Do not some people think it is revenge for the ordeals suffered by your family?

S.K. As a lawyer, I think in terms of justice. My German-born wife Beate has nothing to avenge. Nevertheless, she assists me in my work. The punishment of nazi criminals has become our common goal. We also publish a lot of documents about nazi crimes in the occupied territories.

N.T. Does your work bring you satisfaction?

S.K. I nearly died in childhood, but I have survived. This in itself is good fortune. People who suffered at the hands of the nazis are grateful to us. I hope that by recalling the past I am helping the Germans and the French, whose destinies are so closely interwoven, to gain a better understanding of each other.

N.T. Vichy and the collaborationists left a painful mark on French history. Are the French pleased to be reminded of the past?

S.K. At Barbie's trial the courtroom was packed with young people. Unlike the reporters, who hung on the words of the butcher, they wanted to hear what his victims had to say. Had Hess been released, a horde of journalists would have approached him, offering to publish his memoirs for a tidy sum. He would have tried to prove, of course, that Hitler was a nice fellow who had been a helpless victim of circumstances.

You see, newspapers like to sell their consumers the biographies of criminals, which interest them more than stories about victims. Victims expect sympathy, compassion and readiness to share their grief, in short, the ability to respond to noble impulses. Fortunately, public opinion in France has not been contaminated to the same extent as the press. The French heard the victims' stories and had pity on them. They did not resent being reminded of the past.

For many years, some people in France did not want to recall Vichy and the Petain government's role in the persecution of Communists and the deportation of Jews. But after a long campaign, the period was included in history textbooks. Following the Lyons trial, we began to prepare legal proceedings against two police chiefs under the Vichy regime who loyally served the Gestapo.

N.T. Some people ask whether it is reasonable to throw into prison an old man who committed his crimes over forty years ago. Moreover, they doubt whether such men are guilty at all. Only those who killed or gave orders to kill are guilty. The rest were merely eyewitnesses.

S.K. Disputes on the subject of guilt, collective or personal, have continued for decades. Recently they have flared up because of the Waldheim affair. Here we can recall doctors from concentration camps. After the war they became skilled and useful specialists. But can it be forgotten that they were accomplices in the crimes? It is impossible to exculpate the murderer by saying: the victim is dead, but he is a good specialist and he would benefit the public more by continuing his work than by serving a prison sentence.

It is already guilt enough to have witnessed the crimes and known about them, but done nothing to stop them. The criminal codes of different countries envisage punishment for failing to intervene. "I did not approve of nazi ideology and sympathized with the victims of the nazi regime. But I could not speak up in defence of the victims because that would have meant the end of my family and myself and, besides, it would have been senseless." I have heard statements of this kind many times. Was it possible to oppose effectively crimes perpetrated on a nationwide scale? I doubt if it was. Does that mean it would then have been better to be silent? A decision of this kind is made individually.

N.T. Did you try to understand the psychology of those on the other side?

S.K. One can understand but not forgive them. Some of them were trying to appease hatred engendered by an inferiority complex, suppressed sadism, and the desire to humiliate others. Others were no more wicked than the rest of us, but they were ambitious and, having attained the coveted position, inevitably had to make the choice of either participating in the crimes or opposing them. True, hardly any of them opposed the crimes. Once they had crossed the line, they became real criminals like the other murderers.

N.T. Forty-three years have passed since the defeat of nazi Germany, and few people now remember real nazis. Most people know only the screen image: the black uniform with silver shoulder

A blurred picture and a wrong angle. Editors do not like such photographs. In 1972, Serge Klarsfeld, his wife and the French philosopher Régis Debray (See NT No. 48/87) decided to abduct Klaus Barbie and take him out of Bolivia into Chile, where President Salvador Allende was then in office. In December, having chartered a plane, they crossed the Bolivian-Chilean border by air. On the extreme left is Debray and on the extreme right, Klarsfeld. The operation failed because Barbie was detained by Bolivian police...When they released him, Augusto Pinochet had come to power in Chile. Standing beside Debray is Gustavo Sanchez Salazar. Ten years later, when Salazar was deputy Minister of the Interior in the new Bolivian government, he was entrusted with taking Barbie from prison to the airport, where a French plane was awaiting the criminal.

straps made at the film or TV studio tailor's looks quite impressive. In the minds of people at large the nazis are associated with athletic-looking popular actors.

S.K. It is our common fault. We have created supermen in nazi uniform. They would not be very attractive without the uniform. The other extreme is also harmful, however. It is dangerous to say that Hitler was a madman and Goering just a fat fool. Goering was a clever man, one of the best fliers during the first world war. Mussolini is also pictured as a dunderhead. This is wrong. He was a highly educated man. We make a big mistake when we portray the enemy as a fool. The nazis should be depicted as they really were.

N.T. What do you think of the well-known story of nazi colonies in Latin America?

S.K. It is rather far-fetched. Prosperous and united German colonies existed in many Latin American countries, and some nazi criminals did go there after the war. The nazis, still young, were well received in Latin America. They easily adapted to the new conditions and quickly integrated into the local communities. They served the local dictatorships, the Latin American reactionaries. But most of them went into business.

Of course, former nazis maintained ties with each other and helped some of their compatriots, but there was no organization as such, I mean no militant organization with political ties familiar to us from novels and films. My wife Beate conducted a campaign against nazis in Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile. If such a powerful organization existed, she would not have returned home.

We should not ascribe to the nazis qualities they do not have. They are courageous only in the "pack," when they are in absolute security and have superiority over the enemy. Josef Mengele, the doctor from Auschwitz, can be cited as an example. Those who saw "The Boy from Brazil," with Gregory Peck playing Mengele, might indeed have thought they were seeing a superman continuing his struggle in the teeth of adversity. In fact, Mengele, hiding from punishment, died in mortal terror and had no thoughts of any struggle.

Over half the Europeans now living on the continent were born after the defeat of fascism. The war criminals and the Resistance fighters are gradually departing this life. Nazism is receding into the past, and the past is sometimes forgotten. Many young people are surprised when asked what they know about Hitler. "Hitler? Who's he?" The moral lessons of the second world war may also be forgotten.

Some people in West Germany are displeased that past history is depicted in black and white, laying all the blame on the Germans. Not only neonazis, but also scholars with respectable degrees are writing books to prove that there were no concentration camps or gas chambers and, consequently, no victims.

The West Germans are trying to get rid of the sense of guilt. Neofascist groups defend Hitlerism openly. Right-wing intellectuals are flaunting the slogan, "The nation, the Fatherland, and the family." They demand a return to traditional values and national virtues and experience fear and hatred of foreigners. "Germans will soon have to get into holes," they say, "and others will have their way in the country." In France, they say: "The only stratum of the population not protected by law are the French."

The late film director Rainer Werner Fassbinder wrote a play, "Rubbish, City, Death," in which one of the characters says of another: "The Yid sucks us dry, he boils our blood." The Frankfurt city authorities have banned the staging of the play. In their opinion, a country guilty of the death of millions of Jews can least of all risk any manifestation of anti-Semitism.

It should be borne in mind that fascism is attractive to certain strata of society. Some Germans or Italians are glad to talk to you about the "positive features" of fascism, for instance, that the crime rate dropped under Hitler, while Mussolini virtually

eliminated the mafia. They will try to assure you that order was maintained in the country, that trains ran on schedule, there was no corruption, historical monuments were protected, and national values were not spoiled by Judaism or Marxism.

As a specific form of dictatorship, the totalitarian state, fascism is attractive to the people who find it hard to live in the conditions of democracy and pluralism, when there seems to be no order. Even more attractive is nationalism, one of the scourges of the 20th century.

I heard about Beate Klarsfeld earlier than about her husband. Twenty years ago she publicly slapped West German Chancellor Kiesinger, a former nazi, in the face. Her courage deserves to be admired. In March 1972 she chained herself to a bench in front of the house where Klaus Barbie lived, and displayed a poster demanding the extradition of the criminal. Beside her is Ita-Rosa Halaunbrenner, who holds a poster saying: "People of Bolivia, help me! Mothers, I ask only for justice. May Barbie, the murderer of my husband and three of my children be judged."

N.T. Fascism is often interpreted as an episode in history, a 12-year period in the history of Germany and a 20-year period in the history of Italy. Isn't that too narrow an interpretation? What is the fascist way of thinking and acting? How does fascism penetrate the mass consciousness before the leaders of the fascist movement come to power? What impels some people to consider others inferior and unworthy of life?

S.K. One man is unable to answer all these questions. Many historians, sociologists and psychologists have been trying to explain the phenomenon of fascism for 50 years. I wouldn't dare say their work has been completed, especially as different historians have different aims. One school of history in West Germany does not defend Hitler, but it calls for a broader treatment of past events. "This is our history," it says, "and nothing can be erazed from it. You can't use one and the same colour. The young need a balanced history that will fill them with pride in their nation and fatherland."

N.T. Don't you regard the appearance of fascist organizations in the countries that routed nazi Germany as a terrible paradox? Why has this virus, which proved fatal to Germany, infected the victorious nations?

S.K. I don't think countries can be infected with the fascist virus. It appears independently in any body predisposed to the disease. The emergence of nazi groups is a form of protest against a democratic society, against pluralism.

N.T. Is the revival of fascism possible on a scale dangerous to mankind?

S.K. The revival of fascism is only possible in the event of an acute social and economic crisis because, when people are hungry, they devour one another.

It seems to me, however, that on the whole the lesson has not been lost. The West Europeans do not want totalitarianism or racism. Young people are pondering over these problems. An active movement against racism has formed. But when the stock exchange rate plummets, people begin to look for irrational causes and irriational solutions, and fascism can prevail in these conditions. They immediately uncover a "conspiracy" and expose "enemies", mythical enemies responsible for all their troubles.

N.T. In that case we come to the sad conclusion that the lessons of the Third Reich have not been soundly learned. Nazi ideology continues to exist in different forms, and it has not been discredited in the minds of the people. The Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg was right when he said in June 1945: "It is not enough to destroy fascism in the battlefield. It must be extirpated from the consciousness, semiconsciousness, the spiritual underground, which is more dreadful than an underground organization of saboteurs."

S.K. I repeat that the absolute majority of people advocating fascist views do not consider themselves fascists and will take offence if you call them such.

N.T. It seemed in 1945 that, having learned about Auschwitz, nobody would defend fascist colours. Some people, like Bertolt Brecht, warned: "Mankind has a surprisingly short memory: it too quickly forgets the suffering it has experienced...The horrors of the forties, which shook the world, have apparently been forgotten."

S.K. The trouble is that many people, seeing how the fascist movement is taking shape and fascist ideology is spreading, do not feel themselves to be at risk. Fascist terror is levelled only at some groups of the population and, initially, nothing threatens the broad masses of the people. On the contrary, many have the feeling that life is improving.

I sometimes wonder what would have happened had the nazis won the second world war. They would have built sumptuous cities and excellent roads and raised living standards. It would have been a pompous civilization built on crime – a flourishing state on top, and concentration camps, the inferno, below. Almost no one would know of the concentration camps, and those who knew would consider their existence legitimate, because they, respectable burghers, would have no need to fear being thrown into them. The existence of concentration camps was almost a secret in Germany till 1939, and the Germans, seeing the revival of their country, were glad that their economic condition had improved. It was still a long way to Stalingrad.

N.T. Would such a regime still exist were it not for the battle of Stalingrad?

S.K. Such abstract formulas as eternity are not applicable in politics. A regime based on the dictatorship of such a personality as Hitler is bound to change after his death. However attractive the concepts of historical development in the future may be, I find it more pleasant to think that real history has taken a much sounder direction. The defeat of nazi Germany was the bankruptcy not only of the fascist concept of a new world order, but also of the cowardly hopes of those who, seeing the crimes of the regime, believed that they themselves would never be their victims.

Interview by
LEONID MLECHIN

Paris – Moscow

Handcuffs for high-seas terrorists

A convention on combating acts of terrorism at sea has been adopted by an international conference attended by 76 countries in Rome in March. The leader of the Soviet delegation, Sergei Orjonikidze, and a member of the delegation, Alexander Zmeyevsky, replied to questions from New Times.

When attacks on ships are mentioned, the first thing that comes to mind is piracy - from the days of Captain Flint, unfortunately, right up to our time. Is "terrorism at sea" just a new name for an old phenomenon?

No, the two are entirely different things. Piracy is indeed the most common form of violence on the high seas. The prevention of piracy is dealt with in the 1958 Geneva Convention on the High Seas and the 1982 U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea.

Piracy is defined by law as an act of violence or robbery on the practice thereof on the high seas, or in places outside the jurisdiction of any country, committed to satisfy the personal aims of the crew or passengers of a privately owned vessel and directed against another vessel or flying apparatus (hydroplane), against persons and property on board.

In the past everything was clear without complicated definitions. If you flew the Jolly Roger, you were a pirate...

But since then terrorism at sea, an entirely different thing, has appeared. The first cases of terrorism at sea occured at the beginning of the 1960s. In the 1970s they became more frequent.

On March 4, 1973, the Greek vessel Sanya, with 250 tourists aboard, was blown up by a mine laid by terrorists in the port of Beirut.

On February 2, 1974, terrorists took over a Greek cargo vessel in the Pakistani port of Karachi, threatening to blow it up if the Greek authorities refused to release two persons who had committed an act of terrorism in Athens airport.

In November and December 1975, the Soviet passenger liner the Maxim Gorky was attacked in the Puerto Rican port of San Juan.

Mass media in the West reported that the Irish Republican Army (IRA) had claimed responsibility for the explosion on August 27, 1979, of the yacht Shadow, which was carrying Earl Mountbatten, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and members of his family.

In 1985, the vessel Rainbow Warrior belonging to the organization Green Peace was blown up when at anchor in the New Zealand port of Auckland.

Which acts of terrorism at sea were, in your opinion, the most dangerous?

Hard to say... Probably the attempt in 1978 to take over the American submarine Trepang, which had ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads on board. The attempt was made in the port of New London, Connecticut.

International legal acts directed against terrorism on board aircraft appeared in the 1960s. Why did similar acts against terrorism at sea come much later?

Terrorism at sea is new fairly rare phenomena. What spurred on the adoption of a joint document was the capture in the autumn of 1985 of the Italian vessel Achille Lauro when it was sailing away from Egypt. A helpless person in a wheelchair was killed... In October 1985, the countries affected by the incident - Italy, Austria and Egypt - came out with a joint proposal at the International Maritime Organization (IMO) to draw up an international convention on combating terrorism at sea. Most countries supported the proposal. A special preparatory Committee of the IMO obtained preliminary agreement and presented the draft of a convention and a special protocol to the Rome conference. On the whole the war job done in a spirit of businesslike cooperation. Nevertheless, differences in political approaches to efforts to combat terrorism made themselves felt.

There was a moment when it seemed that it would be impossible to bring the confernce to a successful conclusion. No small effort had to be made by the Soviet delegation, as well as by others, to find a mutually acceptable solution. As a result, a compromise was reached on the basis of the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly unconditionally condemning all terrorist acts no matter where and by whom they are committed, while at the same time confirming the legality of the national liberatioin struggles. The participants in the conference unanimously adopted two basic documents: the convention for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of maritime navigation, and a special protocol on the safety of fixed platforms located on the continental shelf. The text incorporated a number of ideas put forward by the Soviet delegation, in particular that all countries should abide strictly by the norms and principles of international law in combating unlawful acts at sea.

In other words, any retaliatory action by states whose ships have been objects of terrorist acts should not go beyond strict limits! But is that fair?

Yes, it is. Because in international relations the law should always be the primary concern.

What does the convention cover? To which vessels does it apply?

The convention states that its provisions apply to all vessels except military ones, as well as those used for military support, customs or police business. The Conference felt that the crews of such vessels were able to rebuff any terrorist attack on them.

Does the Rome convention make punishment of terrorism at sea inevitable? As we know from experience of air hijacking, that is extremely important, and in the past legal considerations have on occasion been overridden by political ones...

Under the convention, countries undertake to punish or extradite the criminals. The participants in the conference agreed that in deciding whether or not to extradite, the interests and obligations of the country under whose flag the ship was sailing should be taken into account. This is logical, as the punishment must be suited to the crime and can be meted out in the country suffering the greatest damage. And that in most cases is the country whose flag the attacked vessel was flying.

The Soviet delegation decisively rejected attemps to include in the convention the stipulation that extradition could be refused for political reasons. Its position was supported by most participants in the conference. ■

African goddess

The strange chant sounds first gentle and flowing, then passionate and fast. The singer's deep, powerful voice casts a spell on the audience. This voice conjures us a mysterious world inhabited by wood goblins, mermaids, good and evil sorcerers, gods and goddesses.

"Sangoma" is the title of a new album recorded by the famous South African singer Miriam Makeba. "Sangoma" is an important figure in the traditional village community in Miriam's homeland - healer and sorceress, guardian of folk legends and beliefs. She can communicate with the souls of the ancestors. Makeba's mother was considered to be a Sangoma, and to have prophetic powers. It was from her that Miriam inherited her beautiful voice, and learned the old African songs, prayers and laments. The album includes 19 traditional songs of her native Xhosa tribe: dirges and war songs, ritual incantations, sad and joyful.

While "Sangoma" is a kind of ethnographic collection, Makeba's previous album "Graceland," carries a strong social and political message: in these songs she comes across as a crusader.

The success of her new discs brings to mind the triumphal reception given twenty years ago to her song "Pata-pata" which initiated the Afro style, a trend that swept music and fashions, hair styles and dances.

The story of this and many other songs is told in her autobiography "Makeba: my Story." Due to be released simultaneously by two publishing houses, one in America and one in Britain, the book is already causing a stir and is eagerly awaited. Its publication coincides with a new wave of anti-racist actions in southern Africa. The world-wide movement of solidarity with anti-apartheid fighters is mounting. In her book Miriam Makeba exposes the arbitrary rule of the white hangmen as she has done in her protest songs.

When she was ten, Miriam, her parents and four brothers moved from a tiny village lost in the bush to Soweto. The name of that African township not far away from Johannesburg has long been a symbol of the rightlessness and tragedy of its people. Miriam's voice quickly attracted attention and the girl was invited to sing at all the weddings and funerals in the Black quarters of Johannesburg.

She made her debut with the group "Cuban Brothers." The group was only allowed to perform for African audiences. It was during a sing-in in the early fifties that Miriam met Nelson Mandela, the unswerving fighter and leader of the African National Congress. That meeting changed her life.

In 1957, the documentary film "Come Back, Africa," won a prize at the International Film Festival in Venice. It included some passionate songs of protest from the Black continent performed by Miriam Makeba. They brought her wide popularity and led to her being exiled from her native country.

Since then she has performed in many countries. She has sung at the World Youth Festival in Havana, at musical theatres on Broadway and at a Red Songfest in Berlin. She has performed for delegates to the U.N. General Assembly in New York, the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa and UNESCO sessions in Paris. Among her numerous awards is a Dag Hammarskjold Peace Prize.

But her most treasured reward is the love of the public who have dubbed her "The Black Gem of Africa," "The African Song Queen," "Mama Africa," "The African Goddess," and so on. The latter "title" was given to her by Harry Bellafonte, the outstanding Black singer and actor. He is proud that he discovered Makeba's talent for American audiences many years ago. Miriam's daughter, Bongui Makeba, has accompanied her mother on her tours from early age, and has also become a professional singer.

Makeba is 55, an age at which some people start thinking about retirement. Not so Mama Africa. She feels that people, especially her downtrodden fellow countrymen, need her. Miriam Makeba continues her struggle. Her songs of freedom have long been the battle marches of the resistance fighters in southern Africa. Miriam is a legend in her lifetime.

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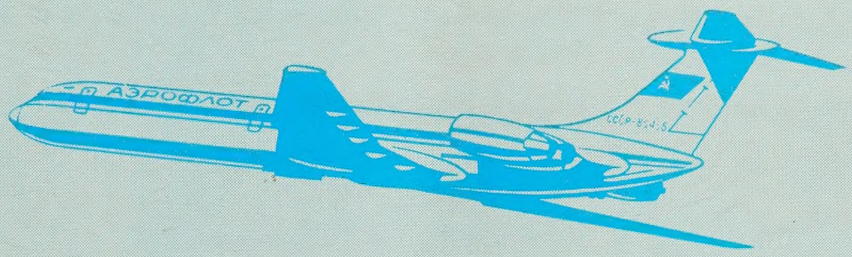

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